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THE LIVES

of

PHILIP HOWARD,

EARL OF ARUNDEL,

and of

22497

ANNE DACRES,

His Wife.

Edited from the Original MSS.

BY

THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M.

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PREFACE.

I TRUST the following Lives will be read with intereſt. They are given from a Manuſcript in my poſſeſſion, which I have copied with the moſt careful attention both to its ſpelling and punctuation. I have not made the ſmalleſt alteration except in the 12th and 76th pages, where certain paſſages have been for obvious reaſons omitted, and in the 13th page, where a ſlightly different conſtruction

conſtruction of the text has enabled me to ſave a portion of that page which I ſhould otherwiſe have omitted. I ſhould not, however, have made even theſe ſlight alterations but for the advice of a friend.

NORFOLK, E.M.

ARUNDEL CASTLE,
Feaſt of S^t Philip Neri.
1857.

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THE LIFE AND DEATH

of

The Renowned Confeſſor

PHILIP HOWARD
EARL OF ARUNDEL,

etc.

CHAPTER I.

His Birth and Parentage.

Amongst the mąny Noble Families of this Kingdome, no one has been more famous, or more illuſtrious in theſe latter times, than that of the *Howards;* nor in it any more worthy of Memory than the Lord *Philippe Howard* Earl of *Arundel and Surrey*, who was born at Arundel Houſe in *London* upon S. Peter the Apoſtle's Eve being y^e^ 28 of June in the year of our Lord 1557, and the fourth of the Reign of the vertuous Queen *Mary* of worthy Memory for her Piety and Religion. 1557.

His Father was *Thomas* the laſt Duke of *Norfolk* who by the appointment of Queen

1557. Queen *Eliſabeth* was beheaded upon the *Tower Hill* in the year 1572, and the fourteenth of her Reign. He was a Prince of a very moderate Diſpoſition and moral good Life, tho' not a little infected with Hereſy by reaſon of his Education in his Aunt the Ducheſſe of *Richmond's* houſe, which was a receptacle and harbor of pernicious Perſons tainted in that kind, and in particular of the Infamous Apoſtat *John Bale*, as alſo of *John Fox*, the Author of that peſtilent Book called *Acts and Monuments*.

His Mother was the Lady *Mary Fitzallen* younger Daughter and Heire of *Henry Fitzallen* the laſt Earl of *Arundel* of that name, who died in her Childbed of him being not then full 17 years of age, to the incredible grief of the *Earl* her Father, the *Duke* her huſband, and all their friends ſhe being of ſo ſweet and amiable Diſpoſition, ſo prudent, pious, vertuous and religious, that all who knew her could not but love and eſteem her much, and conſequently lament the loſs of her.

He

He was baptiſ'd a few days after his Birth in the Chappel of the *Queen's* Pallace of *Whitehall* with great Solemnity, the *King*, *Queen*, and all the Principal Perſons of the Court being there preſent. The Ceremony was performed by that worthy Prelat Doctor *Nicolas Heath* then Archbiſhop of *York* and Chancellor of the Kingdome, in a font of Gold made of purpoſe and kept in the Treaſury only for the Chriſtening of the Children of the Princes of the Realm. His Godfathers were the King *Philippe* himſelf of whom he receiv'd his Name, and it was the laſt publick Act the King did before his going to the beſieging and taking of *Saint Quintin* in France, for that very day he departed thitherward, and never after returned to this Kingdome. The other was his Grandfather the Earl of *Arundel*, to whom afterwards for want of Iſſue male he did ſucceed in that Title and Eſtate. And the old Ducheſſe of *Norfolk* his Great-grandmother was the Godmother. 1557.

After

1557. After the death of his Mother the *Duke* his Father married Mrs *Margaret Audley*, the ſole Daughter and Heir of Sir *Thomas Audley* of *Walden* in *Eſſex* Knight and Baronite, who had been Ld Chancellor in the Time of King *Henry the Eight*, and by her he had two Sons, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, who after was created Earl of *Suffolk* by King *James*. And the Lord *William Howard* who is yet living. And one Daughter, the Lady *Margaret* who was married to Mr *Robert Sackvil* Son and Heir to the then Lord *Buckhurſt*, and after Earl of *Dorſet*, and Treaſurer of the Realm.

The *Duke* after the death of his ſecond Wife married the third time the Lady *Dacres* Daughter of Sir *James Labourn* a Knight of Lancaſhire, and Widow to the Lord *Dacres* of ye North. And ſhe having one Son, and three Daughters, the *Duke* intended to have married his Daughter the Lady *Margaret* to that Son; and his three Sons after the Death of that yong Lord *Dacres* (who was ſlain caſually

caſually at *Thetford* by the fall of a vaulting Hors upon him) to her three Daughters. As in effect the Earl of *Surrey* his eldeſt was to *Ann* her eldeſt, and the Lord *William* to *Elizabeth* y^e^ youngeſt. 1557.

CHAP. II.

CHAPTER II.

His Childhood and Education.

1569. I need not here expreſs the great care the *Duke* his Father had of him during his Infancy and Childhood, as being his Eldeſt Son, and Heir both of his own Houſe, and that of his Grandfather the Earl of *Arundel*. It will be ſufficient to ſignify how he appointed a grave and ancient Gentlewoman to have the overſeeing and looking to him during his Infancy, and ſome others to teach him the firſt Rudiments of Learning until he came to be of ſufficient Capacity for further teaching, the which in him was ſooner than ordinary by reaſon of his natural

natural Vivacity and Forwardneſs of Wit. 1569.

For that purpoſe and for his better Education, the *Duke* made choice of Mr *Gregory Martin* Fellow at that time of St John's College in *Oxford*, a man of great Learning and Knowledge eſpecially in the Greek and Hebrew tongues, and of extraordinary Modeſty and Moderation in his Behaviour. But he being wholy Catholick in his judgment and affection, either could not, or would not ſtay with him after that the *Duke* in time of his troubles had given order that certain forward Miniſters ſhould preach unto his Houſhold and Family, and that all therein ſhould frequent Service, Sermons, and the like: and either then or ſoon after he reſolv'd to become Catholick and go beyond Seas, where he was afterwards made Prieſt, writ divers learned Books in defence of Catholick Religion, lived very vertuouſly and died happily. The *Earl* during that time he had the charge of him profited much in his learning, and by that he then ſaw in him, and

1569. and hear'd of him, he was afterwards much furthered towards his Converſion to the Catholick Faith.

As ſoon as he came to the age of Twelve years complete, he was by the appointment of his Father, and his own free conſent publickly marry'd or betrothed to Mrs *Ann Dacres* eldeſt Daughter and Heir, as was ſaid before, of the Lord *Dacres* of the North, her Mother the *Duke's* third Wife being dead ſome years before. And about two years after that when he was at years of full conſent, that is, after fourteen complete they were married again by ſpecial Order from the *Duke* then Priſoner in the *Tower*, out of fear leſt the firſt Marriage as being made before his Son was come to perfect age, might be annulled by order of the *Queen*, or ſome other means, as not without reaſon he might ſuſpect ſome would attempt it ſhould, had it not been made paſt breaking by iterating ye Contract the ſecond time.

1572. Not long after his Father's death, which happened in the year 1572, when he

he was about 15 years of age together with his two younger Brothers he went to the Univerſity of *Cambridg*, and remain'd there two years or thereabouts: what Benefit he reaped by his being there in matter of learning, I cannot well affirm; but certain it is, that in other reſpects he receiv'd no ſmal Detriment, partly by the bad Example he there ſaw, partly by the Liberty permitted him, but principally by y^e^ Flattery of ſome Miniſters, the which was ſo palpable ſometimes, that his Lady has often told me ſhe was aſhamed to hear it. 1572.

CHAP. III.

CHAPTER III.

His going to Court, and the Hurt he receiv'd by it.

1575. About the eighteenth year of his age he went to Court, where he was drawn into many great inconveniences: as firſt * * * * * * * * * for which after his Converſion he ſhew'd much Sorrow, and in part of Satisfaction, as himſelf ſignify'd in a Letter out of the *Tower* to Father *Robert Southwell* of the Society of *Jeſus*, who then liv'd with his Lady, and afterwards was a glorious Martirr, intended at his going out to have diſtributed to the Poor all the Money which could have been made of ſuch Rings,

Rings, Jewels, and other Tokens, which had been given, ſent, or preſented to him by any Perſons of evil condition. And ſo free was he ever after from ſuch Faults, that he could, and upon a juſt occaſion did proteſt in another Letter to y^e^ ſame Father, that after he became a member of the Holy Catholick Church he never was once guilty therein. 1575.

Secondly. Not long after his being at Court, he began firſt to neglect his Wife, ſeldome either comeing or ſending to viſit her: and after ſome time in a manner to reject her, by ſignifying and ſaying unto ſome, that he knew not whether ſhe were his Wife or no, and ſo wholy abſenting himſelf from her, as if really he had not ſo reputed her. The occaſion of this was, a great deſire he had to give Contentment to the *Queen:* for having underſtood by ſome who had cauſ'd his Nativity to be calculated, that he ſhou'd be in great danger to be overthrown by a Woman (the which he interpreted to be no other than the *Queen*) he endeavour'd by all means to get and keep her favour:

1575. favour: and becauſe he well perceived ſhe could not endure his Lady (nor indeed the Wife of any one to whom ſhe ſhew'd any ſpecial grace) thereupon he neglected her in ſuch manner as was notorious to all who knew them, and ſeem'd to caſt thoſe doubts whether ſhe were his Wife or no, tho' for more ſureneſs they had been twice married, as I have ſaid, and as Man and Wife had liv'd ſome years in houſe togather. But thoſe ſhews of doubt laſted not long: for ſoon after his Grandfather the Earl of *Arundel's* death, which happen'd in the year
1580. 1580, he came and cohabited with her about the three-and-twentith year of his age, and had two Children by her, a Son who now is Earl of *Arundel*, and a Daughter who died young. And after his becoming Catholick he uſed her exceeding well, was very repentant for his unkind and hard uſage of her, and often aſk'd her pardon for it, as ſhall hereafter be declared.

Thirdly. He was induced by the bad counſel of ſome he met with at Court, ſet

ſet on ſecretly, as was thought, by higher Power, to neglect his Duty in a manner wholy to the *Earl* his Grandfather, and to behave himſelf in ſuch manner towards his Aunt the Lady *Lumley*, as cauſ'd much grief to her, and much diſguſt to the *Earl* her Father, who much loved and eſteem'd her as ſhe well deſerv'd for her Vertue and Diſcretion, and by that means they both were ſo averſed from him, that they alienated unto others a great part of their Eſtates which otherwiſe would have come from them to him. If the *Earl* his Grandfather's Eſtate had deſcended entirely upon him, it join'd to his Father's and to that Part of the *Dacres* land which he poſſeſſed in right of his Wife, would have made him of the greateſt Wealth and Power without compariſon of any Subject in the Realm. And therefore the *Queen*, or ſome politick perſons about her, fearing he might be too great, uſed ſuch means, that by evil counſel he was drawn into courſes ſo diſpleaſing to his Grandfather and Aunt, that they left him but little in compariſon 1580.

1580. compariſon of that which otherwiſe they would.

Laſtly. By his following of the Court he waſted a great part of that Eſtate which was left him, by profuſe Expences of great Summs of Money in diverſe Tiltings and Tourneys made upon the anniverſary dayes of the *Queen's* Coronation to pleaſe her, and at the entertainment of certain great Embaſſadors, as alſo by the entertaining of the *Queen* herſelf, firſt at his houſe of *Keninghall* in *Norfolk*, where for divers dayes he lodged and feaſted not only herſelf, and all her Family, the Council, Courtiers, and all their Company, but all the Gentlemen alſo, and people of the Country, who came thither upon that occaſion, in ſuch plentifull, bountifull, and ſplendid manner, as the like had never beèn ſeen before in thoſe Countrys. And after, he did the like at his houſe in *Norwich* the ſame Summer when ſhe came thither in progreſs to ſee that City and Country. So deeply by theſe means he came to be indebted, that in many years after

after he was ſcarce able to clear himſelf of them, and in fine could not do it without Sale of a good quantity both of his own, and his Lady's Lands. 1580.

CHAPTER IV.

The Occasions of his Conversion to the Catholick Faith.

1581. The Inconveniences mentioned in the precedent Chapter were very great, into all which he fell by following the Court: But there was another far greater than them all, which proceeded from the ſame, to wit; a total neglect of his duty to Almighty God. For during all that time, he was ſo carry'd away with Company, youthfull entertainments, pleaſures and delights, that his mind being wholy poſſeſſ'd with them, and other worldly vanities, he did ſcarce ſo much as think of God (as himſelf afterwards acknowledged)

ledged) or of anything concerning Religion, or the Salvation of his Soul: until by the Providence of God it ſo happen'd that he was preſent at the Diſputation which was made in the Tower of *London* in the year 1581 concerning diverſe points of Religion betwixt Fr *Edmond Campion* of the Society Mr *Sherwin* and ſome other Prieſts of the one part; *Charke*, *Fulk*, *Whitakers* and ſome other Proteſtants Miniſters of the other. For by that he ſaw and heard there, he eaſily perceiv'd on which ſide the Truth, and true Religion was, tho' at that time, nor untill a year or two after, he neither did nor intended to embrace and follow it: and after he did intend it a good while paſſed before he did execute it. For, as himſelf ſignify'd in a letter which he afterwards writ in the time of his Impriſonment in the *Tower* to Fr *Southwell*, he reſolved to become Catholick long before he could reſolve to live as a Catholick, and thereupon he defer'd the former until he had an intent and reſolute purpoſe to perform the latter. The 1581.

1581-3. The which (being aided by a ſpecial grace of God) he made walking one day alone in the Gallery of his Caſtle at *Arundel:* where after a long and great conflict within himſelf, lifting up his eies and hands to Heaven, he firmly reſolved to become a member of God's Church, and to frame his life accordingly; yet kept it ſecret, neither making his Lady, nor any other perſon living acquainted therewith. Untill after ſome few dayes going to *London* and meeting his Brother the Lord *William Howard* to whome he bore a ſpecial love, he diſcover'd his determination to him tho' ſomewhat covertly, and after he had lent him a Catholick book to read w^ch^ was written not long before by M^r^ *Doctor Allen,* he dealt ſo efficaciouſly with him, that he alſo reſolved to be a Catholick.

CHAPTER V.

The Beginning of his Troubles.

They having both of them made this determination of becomeing Catholicks, becauſe the Times were then exceeding troubleſome, and they did apprehend great danger in declareing themſelves for ſuch within the Kingdome, therefore after much Conſultation they reſolv'd ſecretly to leave the Land, and with only one Gentleman in their company (M^r^ *Nicolas Walgrave*) to paſs into *Flanders* and there to remain till more quiet times. 1583.

His Secretary M^r^ *John Momford* who was already then a Catholick and acquainted

1583. quainted with their Reſolution, the *Earl* did ſend to *Hull* in *Yorkſhire* with order to embark himſelf from thence into ſome part in *Flanders* and there to meet him, or expect his comeing: But he before he could get paſſage there, being apprehended and carry'd before the Earl of *Huntington* then Preſident of *York*, could not perform his Lord's Command; but was compell'd to return to *London* back again, where he found him not yet gon, but makeing Preparation to receive the *Queen* at Arundel Houſe upon notice given him that ſhe intended ere long to come thither for her recreation.

A very great and ſumptuous Banquet he made her when ſhe came, wherewith at that time ſhe ſeem'd very well contented and gave him many thanks for her entertainment there: but not long after ſhe ſhew'd little gratitude for it, ſending a Command he ſhould not go any whither out of that houſe, but remain therein as Priſoner, giveing alſo Commiſſion to the Lord *Hunſdon* (who in former times had been the *Duke* his Father's

ther's Page and now was his great enimy) to examin him about his religion, whereof the *Queen* began to have him in Suſpition, alſo about Cardinal *Allen*, and the *Queen of Scots* mother to King *James*. Whereto in all things he anſwer'd ſo wiſe and warily, that the Lord had no mind to moleſt him any more with any ſuch Demands. 1583.

But about a month after Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*, who at that time was Captain of y^e^ Guard ſent for M^r^ *John Momford* and aſked him diverſe dangerous queſtions concerning the *Earl*, y^e^ *Counteſſe* his Wife, and his Brother the L^d^ *William*, as alſo of himſelf whether he were a Prieſt or no. To which he anſwerd that he neither knew, nor ever heard any hurt at all of any of thoſe honourable perſons, and that himſelf was neither Prieſt, nor worthy ſo great a dignity. That night he was committed to cloſe cuſtody and the next day he was examin'd again upon ſeventeen interrogatories, in all which he ever clear'd himſelf, the *Earl*, his Lady, and Brother from

1583. from all Suſpitions of ſuch Crimes as were ſurmiſed of them.

The day following he was examin'd the third time, and whilſt he was in examination, upon the ſuddain unexpectedly, the *Queen*, the Earl of *Leiceſter* and diverſe others of the Council came into the houſe to underſtand, as it ſeems, what he had confeſſed. Sir *Chriſtopher* told them what anſwer he had made to everything, but they not reſting ſatisfy'd therewith cauſ'd him after many threats of racking and other Tortures, to be ſent priſoner to the *Gatehouſe*, where he was kept ſome months ſo cloſe, that none might ſpeak or come unto him. After which time he was carry'd to *Whitehall*, and there again moſt ſtraitly examined by the Earl of *Leiceſter*, the L^d^ *Hunſdon*, S^r^ *Francis Walſingham* then Secretary to the *Queen*, and ſome other of the Council. *Norton* the rack maſter being preſent who falſly accuſed him of many things, and objected great matters againſt the *Earl* and his Lady affirming him to be privy to them all. But by his anſwers he ſo cleared himſelf,

himſelf, and declared their Innocency, that within a ſhort time they were all ſet at liberty, and not long after *Norton* their accuſer for ſome heinous Offences was caſt into the Tower of *London* where he died miſerably. 1583.

CHAP. VI.

CHAPTER VI.

His Reconciliation to the Church, and Change of Life.

1583. By occaſion of thoſe treubles the *Earl* had defer'd his Reconciliation to the Church of God, which he very earneſtly deſired: but could not put in execution for want of means and opportunity. So ſoon therefore as they were a little over-paſſed, he uſed ſuch diligence therein, that he procured a Meeting with Father *William Weſton* a very vertuous and religious Prieſt of the Society of *Jeſus* well known in *England* by the name of F^r^ *Edmonds*, and much eſteem'd in it and other Cuntries for his conſtant ſuffer-

ing

ing of 17 years impriſonment in the Tower of *London*, *Wiſbich* and other places for the Profeſſion of the Catholick Religion. 1584.

When he was firſt taken, and put priſoner in the *Clinck*, the Counteſſe of *Arundel* went in Diſguiſe to viſit him, and offering by means of Money to procure his Baniſhment, as was uſual in thoſe times, his anſwer was, as ſhe her ſelf told me, that he was not committed to priſon for Money, ſo neither would he be releaſed by Money, but expect till either God, or they by whoſe authority he was deprived of his Liberty ſhould of their own accord ſet him free as he was afterwards at the entrance of King *James*, who ſent him with ſome others into Baniſhment wherein he ended his dayes at the City of *Valladolid* in *Spain* with opinion of great Sanctity.

By this good man was the *Earl* reconciled in the year 1584, and by his means receiv'd ſuch Comfort to his Soul as he never had felt before in all his life, and ſuch good Directions for the amending and

1584. and ordering of his life, as afterwards did greatly help and farther him therein. For, ever after that time he lived in ſuch manner, as that he ſeem'd to be chang'd into another man, having great Care and Vigilance over all his actions, and addicting himſelf much to Piety and Devotions. For which purpoſe forthwith he procured to have a Prieſt ever with him in's own houſe, by whom he might frequently receive the Holy Sacrament, and dayly have the Comfort to be preſent at the Celebration of the Holy Sacrifice, whereto with great humility and reverence he himſelf in perſon many times would ſerve.

CHAPTER VII.

His Resolution to leave the Kingdome, and his Letter to the Queen.

This ſo great Change in his Manner of Life was ſoon noted and obſerved by ſome Courtiers and potent Men, who thereupon began mainly to ſuſpect him to be what he was indeed, and ſome who were his Evillwillers did intend to make that as a Means to work his Ruin and Overthrow. At leſt he was ſo inform'd of them, and giving Credit thereunto he began again to think of leaving the Kingdome and going into *France*, where he thought he might both live more ſafely, and 1584.

1585. and ſerve God more quietly. Father *Weſton* did all he could to diſwade him from that courſe, as himſelf told me more than once, but either his own fear, or ſome other's men's perſuaſions were more prevailing, he reſolved to go, and with as much privacy, as poſſibly might be, in ſo much that he did not acquaint his Lady therewith, who by ſome other means having got notice thereof did very earneſtly deſire to have gon with him. But becauſe ſhe then was with Child of her Son, and for ſome other Reaſons, he, not thinking it then convenient, perſuaded her to ſtay behind him, aſſureing her that afterwards he would take ſuch Order that ſhe ſhould follow him.

And becauſe he did think that his Enemies after his Departure would by their ſlanderous Reports endeavour to diſgrace him with the People and cauſe the *Queen* to have ſiniſter Surmiſes of him, he writ a long Letter to her which he left with his Siſter the Lady *Margaret Sackvil* to be delivered unto her after his arrival in *France*, by which it might appear

appear both to her and all others, what were the true Cauſes moving him to undertake that Reſolution. The tenor thereof was as follows: 1585.

May it pleaſe your Moſt Excellent Majeſty.

As the Diſpleaſure of a Prince is a heavier burden to bear, than the hard Conceit of a meaner and inferior Perſon: ſo it is not lawfull for any, and leſs convenient for them to ſettle an opinion of Miſlike before either there appear ſome cauſe ſufficient to procure it, or there be a fault committed worthy to deſerve it. I ſpeak not this, that I doubt of your Majeſty's gratious Diſpoſition, or that I fear you will condemn me without juſt and evident proof (for I know it agrees with the honour of your Eſtate, and I can witneſs it hath been the manner of your Proceedings to know the Cauſe before you give the Cenſure and to hear the Matter, before you condemn the Perſon) but I ſpeak with humility, that I may receive

1585. receive this favourable and indifferent dealing at your Majeſty's hands: becauſe as I am moſt deſirous to conſerve your gratious and good opinion, ſo am I moſt earneſt to remove all Impediments that may hinder or withdraw the ſame. And beſides, for that many actions at the firſt ſhew may ſeem raſh and unadviſed, which after ripe and ſufficient conſideration of the Cauſe, do appear to be juſt and neceſſary. I moſt humbly beſeech your Moſt Excellent Majeſty to vouchſafe but the reading of this ſimple Writing, and in allowing me this (which is no more than your Majeſty's place doth require you to beſtow upon your meaneſt Subjects, and the gratiouſneſs of your nature hath alwayes moved you to grant to every Sutor) your Majeſty ſhall do a thing which is pleaſing in the ſight of God, and honourable in the eies of y^e^ world you ſhall take a courſe which is worthy of yourſelf and do that Juſtice which appertaineth to your Eſtate: To be ſhort, I doubt not by this means both your Majeſty ſhall reſt ſatisfy'd in ſeeing the true

true and full Defence of my dealing, and I reremain happy, being delivered from all fear and ſuſpition of your Diſpleaſure. 1585.

And becauſe the courſe of my former Life may in ſome part expreſs the reaſon of my preſent fact, I moſt humbly beſeech yr Majety yt with favour I may put in remembrance how ſince my firſt comeing to the Court which is nine or 10 years paſt at the leaſt, it hath been my chiefeſt care to perform that which I thought might moſt content you, how I have been alwayes ready and ever willing to do you that ſervice, which either duty required at my hands, or the ſmalneſs of my ability would permitt.

Your Majeſty beſt knoweth, and for proof thereof I will appeal to no other Judge than your ſelf, tho' I could juſtly call a great part of your Realm to be witneſs herein. And ſo happy I was before ſome years, in that it pleaſed your Majeſty to accept my ſervice in gratious part, and to conceive a favourable opinion of all mine actions, as I accounted the labours I took a comfort. I made my ſelf

1585. ſelf a ſtranger to my own hous to be a continual waiter upon your Maty, and liked to live in any ſort at the Court, rather than in the beſt manner at home: for I thought my ſelf happieſt when I was neareſt to your Maty, and my time beſt ſpent, when I beſtow'd it in doing of your ſervice. But at the laſt whether the malice of mine Adverſaries by reaſon of your Majeſty's good countenance towards me, did begin to be greater than it was, or their credit with your Maty for my miſhap did grow to be more than in times paſt it had been, I know not: but I did find by little and little your good opinion declined, and your favours, as I thought, ſomewhat eſtranged from me. I heard from time to time how your Maty took exceptions at many of my actions, and how it pleaſed you dayly in your diſcourſes to bewray an hard and evil opinion of me. I ſaw that ſuch as evermore you hated in your heart and thoſe which before you had not favour'd, did winne your Maty's good countenance, which till that time they could by no means

means obtain, and beſides that, received protection and aſſiſtance from y^r Ma^ty in all their actions againſt me, preſently after they had offer'd me wrong, and were become my adverſaries. 1585.

Notwithſtanding all this I knowing my conſcience to be clear came at convenient times to do my duty to your Ma^ty, and though it pleaſed you at ſome times to talk with me, yet your Ma^ty never charged me with the leaſt fault or offence unto you; and thoſe adverſaries of mine, who did bark behind my back durſt never accuſe me, nor once open their mouths to my face. So that I accounted my hap very ill, that I was wrongfully accuſed, but much worſe, becauſe at no time I was openly charg'd, whereby I might have had a juſt occaſion both to have ſhew'd mine Innocency, and to have ſatisfy'd your Majeſtie's ſuſpition. For firſt; ſeeing your Ma^ty to countenance my adverſaries who ſeek of purpoſe to diſgrace me, and that you would not many times in their preſence vouchſafe ſo much as once bend your eies

1585. eies to the place where I ſtood. Secondly. I finding them encouraged to mine Injury diverſe wayes by y^e^ help of your favour, my ſelf being unable to defend my ſelf any wayes by reaſon of your diſpleaſure. Laſtly. Perceiving by your Majeſties open diſgrace, which all men did note, and by your bitter Speech, which moſt men did know, that I was generally accounted, nay that I was in a manner pointed at as one whome your Majeſty did leaſt favour, and moſt diſgrace, and as a perſon whome you did deeply ſuſpect, and eſpecially miſlike I knew this ſmoke did bewray a fire, and I ſaw thoſe clouds did foretell a ſtorm, and therefore I prepared my ſelf with patience to endure whatſoever it was the Will of God by means of your Ma^ties^ indignation to lay upon me, being aſſured that my faults towards you were none, though mine offences towards others were many. And thus having reſolved my ſelf to endure whatſoever ſhould happen: I continued ſome months in this deep diſgrace without either knowing what was the ground

ground of your Ma^ties diſpleaſure, or hearing what ſhould be the end of my own misfortune: till at laſt I was called at your Majeſties commandment before your Council at two ſeveral times, where many things were objected againſt me, and ſome of them ſuch trifles, as they were ridiculous, others of them could not be juſtify'd. And yet notwithſtanding that mine Innocency did ſo evidently appear by mine anſwers, as my greateſt Adverſaries could not reprove me of the ſmaleſt offence or undutifullneſs to your Majeſty, I was commanded to keep my Houſe wherefore I ſaw it was reſolved by the courſe of this dealing that how clear or manifeſt ſoever mine Innocency was my Adverſaries ſhould receive the triumph of the Victory in having what they would, and I feel the diſgrace of mine own misfortune in endureing that, which no way I deſerved, and mine enimies to maintain their doing by ſome colourable ſhew, ſeeing they could not juſtifie their accuſations by any ſufficient proof, procured that your Ma^ty ſhould ſend ſome of your 1585.

1585. your Council four dayes after my reſtraint to examin me of new Matters, which were of greater weight, and importance; but as improbable as the former and I diſcharged my ſelf, as clearly as of the other before mentioned, ſo as mine Innocency did more plainly appear, altho' my reſtraint did continue. For, after this my laſt examination, I remained in the ſame eſtate fifteen weeks at the leaſt; no man charging me with the leaſt offence, nor my conſcience being able to accuſe me of the ſmaleſt fault. And at the laſt, when either mine enimies could not for ſhame longer continue their unconſcionable proceedings, or that your Maty was informed by ſome of my Friends, that I had too long endured this puniſhment, I was reſtored to my former liberty without hearing any juſt cauſe of your Majeſties hard conceit, or any good colour why I was committed, or but ye ſhadow of a fault which I might be touched with.

Wherefore after I had eſcaped ſafely thoſe ſtorms and when I was clearly delivered

livered from all my troubles, I began to call to remembrance the heavy ſentence which had lighted upon thoſe three of mine Anceſtors, who immediately went before me. The firſt being my great Grandfather, who was ſo free from all ſuſpition and ſhew of any fault, as becauſe they had no colour of matter to bring him to his anſwer, they attainted him by Act of Parliament, without ever calling him to his anſwer. The ſecond being my Grandfather was brought to his tryal, and condemned for ſuch trifles as amazed the ſtanders by at that time, and it is ridiculous at this time to hear the ſame. Nay he was ſo faultleſs in all reſpects as the Earl of *Southampton* that then was, being one of his greateſt enimies fearing leſt his innocency would be a mean to ſave his life, told Sir *Chriſtopher Heydon* (being one of his Jury) before hand, that tho' he ſaw no other matter weighty enough to condemn him; yet it were ſufficient reaſon to make him ſay guilty, for that he was an unmeet man to live in a Commonwealth. The laſt 1585.

1585. laſt being my Father was arraign'd according to the Law and condemned by his Peers. God forbid that I ſhould think but that his Tryers did that whereunto their conſciences did lead them. And yet give me leave I moſt humbly beſeech your Maty to ſay thus much that howſoever he might unwittingly or unwillingly be drawn into greater danger than himſelf did either ſee or imagin: yet all his actions did plainly declare and his greateſt enimies muſt of neceſſity confeſs, yt he never carry'd any diſloyal mind to your Maty nor intended any undutifull act to his Country. And when I had in this ſort both fully and throughly conſidered the fortune of thoſe three which were paſt I called to mind mine own danger wch was preſent, and did think it not impoſſible by the ſhew of this rough beginning, but I might as well follow them in their fortune, as I have ſucceeded them in their place. For I conſidering the greatneſs of mine enimies power to overthrow me; and in the weakneſs of my ſelf, no ability to defend me,

me, I perceived in my late trouble how narrowly my life was ſought, and how eaſily your Maty was drawn into a ſuſpitious and hard opinion of my Anceſtors, and by my paſt dangers how mine Innocency was no ſufficient warrant to protect my ſelf. I knew my ſelf, and beſides was charged by your Council to be of that Religion, which they accounted odious, and dangerous to your ſtate. Laſtly, but principally I weigh'd in what miſerable and doubtfull caſe my ſoul had remained, if that my life had been taken, as it was not unlikely by former troubles: for I proteſt the greateſt burden that reſted in my conſcience at that time was becauſe I had not liv'd according to the preſcript rule of that which undoubtedly I believe and aſſuredly preſume to be the truth. 1585.

Wherefore being ſomewhat induced by all theſe reaſons, but chiefly moved by this laſt argument, I thought that the not performing of my duty towards God in ſuch ſort as I knew wd pleaſe him beſt, might be a principal occaſion of my late puniſhment:

1585. puniſhment: and therefore reſolved whilſt I had oportunity to take the courſe which might be ſure to ſave my ſoul from the danger of ſhipwrack altho' my body were ſubject to y^e^ peril of misfortune. And ever ſince I followed and purſued this good intent of mine, tho' I perceiv'd ſomewhat more danger to mine eſtate, yet I humbly thank God I have found a great deal more quietneſs in my mind. And in this reſpect I have juſt occaſion to eſteem my paſt troubles as my greateſt felicity. For both of them were (tho' indirectly) the means to lead me to that courſe, which ever brings perfect quietneſs, and only procures eternal happyneſs. And being reſolved rather to endure any puniſhment then willingly to decline from the beginning I had begun, I did bend myſelf wholy as near as I could to continue in the ſame without any act which was repugnant to my Faith and Profeſſion. And by means hereof was compelled to do many things which might procure peril to my ſelf, and be an occaſion of miſlike unto your Majeſty: for

for the firſt day of this Parliament when your Maty with all your Nobility was hearing of a Sermon in the Cathedral Church of Weſtminſter above in the Chancel, I was driven to walk by my ſelf below in one of the Iſles. And one day this laſt Lent when your Maty was hearing another Sermon in ye Chappel at Greenwich, I was forced to ſtay all that while in the Preſence Chamber. To be ſhort, when your Maty went upon any Sunday or Holyday to your great Cloſet, I was forced to ſtay either in the Privy Chamber, and not to wait upon you at all, or els preſently to depart as ſoon as I had brought you to the Chappel. Theſe things and many more I could by no means eſcape, but only by an open plain diſcovery of my ſelf in the eye and opinion of all men as the true cauſe of my refuſal, neither could it long be hidden, altho' for a while it were not generally noted and obſerved. 1585.

Wherefore ſince I ſaw that of neceſſity it muſt ſhortly be diſcover'd, and with all remember'd what a watchfull and jealous

1585. lous eye was carry'd over all thoſe who were known to be Recuſants, and therewithall calling to mind how all their lodgings were continually ſearched, and to how great danger they were ſubject, if a Jeſuit or Seminary Prieſt were found within their houſes. I began to conſider that either I could not ſerve God in ſuch ſort as I had profeſſed, or elſe I muſt incurre the hazard of greater puniſhment than I was willing to endure. I ſtood reſolute and unremoveable in the firſt, tho' it were with danger of life, and therefore did apply my mind to deviſe what means I could for avoiding of the laſt. Long I was debateing with my ſelf what courſe to take. For when I conſider'd in what continual danger I did remain here in *England* both by the Laws heretofore eſtabliſh'd and by a new Act lately made, I did think it the ſafeſt way to depart out of the Realm, and abide in ſome other place, where I might live without danger of my conſcience, without offence to your Majeſty, without this ſervil abjection to mine enimies, and without

without the dayly peril to my life. And yet I was drawn by ſuch forcible perſuaſions to be of another opinion, as I could not eaſily reſolve on which part to ground and ſettle my determination. For on the one ſide my native Country, my Friends, my Wife and Kinsfolkes did invite me to ſtay: on y^e^ other ſide, the misfortune of my houſe, the power of my adverſaries, the remembrance of my former troubles, and the knowledge of my preſent danger did haſten me to go. And in the end I found no middle courſe, but either I muſt venture to live in extreme poverty abroad, or to be ſure to remain in continual danger at home. I regarded more the hazard of my life, wherein ſtood the peril of my Eſtate, and I rather ſought the preſervation of my life, than the profit of my living. Wherefore after I had weigh'd as many dangers as I could remember, and was perſwaded that to depart the Realm was the ſafeſt way I could take, I did reſolve to take the benefit of a happy wind to avoid the violence of a bitter ſtorm, and knowing that 1585.

1585. that the dealing of thoſe who go beyond ſeas tho' their intent be never ſo good and dutifull, were yet evil thought of: I preſumed to write this Letter to your Ma^ty, and in it to declare the true cauſes and reaſons of my departure, both to remove all occaſions of doubt and ſuſpition from your Mã^ty, which otherwiſe this ſuddain departure of mine might procure. And alſo to ſettle as much as lyeth in me your good and gratious opinion of me, which as I have been moſt deſireous to enjoy, ſo will I be moſt willing to deſerve: and becauſe my Adverſaries may take this as a fit opportunity to bewray their malice, and kindle your Majeſty's indignation againſt me, I moſt humbly beſeech your Ma^ty to aſk ſuch as you do think do hate me moſt, whether being of that Religion which I do profeſſe, and ſtanding every way in the ſtate and condition wherein I did remain, they would not have taken that courſe for ſafety of their ſouls, and diſcharge of their conſciences which I did. And either they muſt directly tell you that

that they would have done the ſame, or acknowledge themſelves plainly to be meer Atheiſts, which howſoever they be affected in their harts, I think they would be loath to confeſs with their mouths: and when they have ſatisfied your Maty in this point which is the firſt, I beſeech you to aſk them of the ſecond, wch is the laſt. Whether having had their houſe ſo fatally and ſo ſucceſſively touched, and finding themſelves to be of that Religion which is accounted dangerous and odious to the preſent State, whether having been hardly handled, long reſtrain'd, and openly diſgraced heretofore for nothing, and might now be drawn for their conſciences into great and continual danger. Whether having ſome in chiefeſt credit with your Majeſty their mortal and profeſſ'd enimies, and ſtanding ſuſpected in your Maty's opinion both in reſpect of their Father who was taken away in your Maty's time, and of themſelves who have been ſince many wayes wronged and injured, and beſides being of that Religion which your Maty doth deteſt and of which 1585.

1585. which you are moſt jealous and doubtfull. To be ſhort, whether haveing had one of their Anceſtors taken away without ſhadow of any fault, but only for this cauſe that he was thought to be an unmeet man to live in a Comonwealth at that time, and knowing themſelves to be ſo reputed at this time of thoſe who do bear the moſt ſway in your Maty's Government. Laſtly whether not being able to do any act or duty whereunto their Religion did bind them without the incurring the danger of Felony by a new Act now lately made, they would have departed out of the Realm, as I have done or no: and either they muſt ſay they would joyfully run upon their own death headlong, which is repugnant to the Law of God, and contrary to the Law of Nature as I think, flatly againſt their own conſcience: or els they muſt acknowledge they would have ſought the ſame means which I have uſed for the eſcaping thoſe perils. And then I hope your Maty will not hardly conceive of this my dealing, which my mortal enimies,

enimies, if they ſpeak not contrary to the truth and reaſon, muſt needs confeſs to be juſt and convenient. 1585.

Beſides to confirm your Ma^ty's opinion of my innocency herein, your ſelf may beſt remember how I might have departed long before this time, if I had been guilty of any crime, and that I have ſtood to y^e uttermoſt trial and examination of all my dealings tho' I have taſted all times ſince my laſt reſtraint your Ma^ty's hard opinion and publick diſgrace, both dayly and hourly without any hope or likelyhood of ever recovering your former good opinion; and if my proteſtation, who never told your Majeſty any untruth, may carry any credit in your opinion; I here call God and His Angels to witneſs, that I would not have taken this courſe if I might have ſtay'd in *England* without danger of my ſoul and peril of my life. Wherefore as it is the true token of a noble mind, and hath alwayes been noted as a certain argument of your Mat^ies gratious Diſpoſition, in that it hath ever pleaſed you to take pity on

1585. on thoſe which are in miſery, and to reſpect with the eyes of your favour all afflicted perſons, ſo cannot I be brought any whitt to fear your Maty will make me the firſt example of your ſevere and rigorous dealing, in laying your diſpleaſure upon me who am inforced to forſake my Country, to forget my friends, to leave my living, and to loſe ye hope of all worldly pleaſures and earthly commodities, if either I will not conſent to the certain deſtruction of my body, or willingly yeild to ye manifeſt endangering of my ſoul. The leaſt of which are ſo intollerable for any Chriſtian man to endure, as I hope it cannot be thought any undutifullneſs in me if I ſeek by any good and lawfull means to avoid ſo great an inconvenience. And tho' the loſs of temporal commodities be ſo grievous to fleſh and blood, as I could not deſire to live if I were not comforted with the remembrance of His mercy, for whom I endure all this, who endured ten thouſand times more for me. yet I enſure your Maty that your Diſpleaſure ſhould be

be more unpleaſant unto me than the bitterneſs of all my other loſſes, and a greater grief than my greateſt misfortunes are beſides. 1585.

Therefore remaining in aſſured hope that my ſelf, and my cauſe ſhall receive that favour, conceit and rightfull conſtructions at your Majeſties hands, which I may juſtly challenge, both becauſe the trial of my good dealings heretofore have ſufficiently deſerved the ſame and alſo for y^t^ the confeſſion of my mortal enimies at this time muſt needs acknowledge mine innocency herein. I do humbly crave pardon for my long and tedious Letter, w^ch^ the weightineſs of the matter enforced me unto, and I beſeech God from the bottom of my heart to ſend your Majeſty as great happineſs as I wiſh to mine own Soul.

CHAPTER VIII.

His Taking at Sea, and Committment to the Tower.

1585. The *Earl* having writ this Letter, and provided all neceſſaries for his Journey cauſed a Ship ſecretly to be hired, in which he intended to have gon from ſome private Port in *Suſſex* or *Hamſhire*, and he took only two ſervants to attend upon him, M^r *William Broy* and M^r *Burlace*. He went towards the place where the Ship lay two ſeveral times to have embarked himſelf, and was forced to return back, becauſe the winds were ſo contrary, that the Ship could not get out of the Harbor, at the leaſt it was ſo ſignified

ſignified to him. But more probable it is, that was but an excuſe framed by the Maſter of the Ship or ſome other by whom he was betrayed to cauſe delay until all things were in readineſs for his takeing at Sea and bringing back again: becauſe at the very time, as was well known, other Ships departed from other Ports not far diſtant, and had both wind and weather favourable enough to carry them to *Calis* and other partes of *France.* 1585.

But at length when the Shipman did ſignify that the wind was fit and all in readineſs, he went unto the Port, embarked himſelf, and that night put forth to Sea; but after a while, the Shipman having hung out a light for a Sign, he was boarded, and ſtayed by one *Keloway* Captain of a little Ship of War, who pretended himſelf to be a Pirate, and ſo was thought by the *Earl* and his Company, becauſe being known by them to be a man of a notorious infamous life, they had no reaſon, as they ſaid, to imagine that he was employed by publick authority for the ſtoping and taking of

1585. of them. This *Keloway* (or whoſoever he were that took that name upon him) offered to let the *Earl* and his two gentlemen paſs free for one hundred pounds in money, ſwearing he ſhould preſently without any further ſtop or ſtay from him paſs ſafely into *France* if he would but write a word or two to any Friend of his of whom he might receive it. Whereupon the *Earl* little ſuſpecting any latent fraud wrote in few lines to his Siſter the Lady *Margaret Sackvil* that ſhe ſhould ſpeak to M^r^ *Bridges* aliàs *Grately* a Prieſt, to give one hundred pound to y^e^ bearer thereof, by the token that was betwixt them that *black is white*, and withall aſſured her that now he hoped aſſuredly to have ſpeedy paſſage without impediment. *Keloway* as ſoon as he got this Letter of the *Earl* read it, and immediately after diſcovered himſelf that he was appointed by the Council to watch there for him, and carry him back again to land, as he did forthwith, giving notice unto them with all ſpeed of all that he had done.

The

The *Earl* was nothing at all daunted with this ſo unexpected accident, and not only w^th^ great patience and courage did endure it, but moreover carry'd it with a joyfull and merry countenance. His Money and all thoſe things he had about him, as Jewels and the like, were forthwith ſeaſed upon, and himſelf conducted with a ſtrong gard towards *London* by Sir *George Cary* Son and Heir to the Lord *Hunſden*, then Chamberlain to the *Queen*. One night he lodged in the way at *Guilford* in *Surrey*, where ſeeing the Maſter of the Inne who ſometime had been his Servant, and ſome other who wiſhed well unto him, weeping and ſorrowing for his misfortune, he comforted them all, and willed them to be of good cheere, becauſe it was not for any Crime, Treaſon or the like, as perhaps it was divulged, that he was apprehended and carry'd in y^t^ manner, but only for attempting to leave the Kingdome, the which he had done only for his own ſafety, and to free himſelf from the danger of his Enimies the which both God and 1585.

1585. and nature do allow. The day following he was carried to *London*, and there committed Priſoner to the *Tower* upon the 25 of April 1585. His Brother the Lord *William*, and his Siſter the Lady *Margaret* were, not long after committed to ſeveral Priſons; the which when he underſtood was far more grief to him, as he ſignify'd in a Letter to his Lady, than all his own trouble and impriſonment.

CHAPTER IX.

His Examination and Censure in the Starr-Chamber.

Soon after his Committment he was twice examin'd by ſome of the Council who were ſent unto him to the *Tower* for that ſpecial purpoſe by the *Queen*. The firſt Examination was upon May day, the which being ended Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton* then Vice-Chamberlain and of the Privy Council, ſtayed with him after the departure of the reſt, and wiſhed him if he loved his life not to conceal any of thoſe things which were already known as that he, and his Brother the Lord *William* had ſent to Dr *Allen*. That they 1585.

1585. they had attempted to go over. That they had heared from, and offer'd to be directed by him. That Mr *Bridges* the Prieſt was the meſſenger who was commanded by Dr *Allen* to deliver the Meſſage unto them both jointly, and came unto them by the name of *Grately* with diverſe other circumſtances which were all moſt true. For Mr *Bridges* had out of confidence told all theſe things to one Mr *Gilbert Gifford* a Prieſt who then lived at *Paris* in *France*, and after was diſcovered to be a Spye who gave intelligence of theſe and all other things he could come to know unto ſome of the Council. He told them alſo that one Mr *Henry Dun* a gentleman of his acquaintance who then was a Servant to Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*, and he had confeſſed them all, being called as it ſeems in ſome queſtion thereabout, as the ſame Sir *Chriſtopher* then told the *Earl* out of good will, promiſing him if he would ſet it all down plainly to do his beſt endeavour to ſave him from danger. Otherwiſe the very denial itſelf would caſt more danger

danger upon him, than all his friends living would be able to ſave. Hereupon the *Earl* after many thanks for his great love and friendly counſel declared plainly every thing as it was, and the cauſe why he had ſent to Dr *Allen*, clearing his Brother the Ld *William* of all things ſaveing only his attempt to have gone over with him the firſt time he intended to have gone. 15 5.

The next time that the Council came to examin him, they often aſked and earneſtly what he would have done beyond ſeas: his anſwer was; He would have ſerved in any place that Doctor *Allen* had judged fit for him, ſo that it had been for the Catholick cauſe. They aſking again if he would have done any thing againſt the *Queen* or ye State of this Realm upon Dr *Allen's* perſwaſions. He ſaid that no, not for a world. They demanded then if the Title of Duke of *Norfolk* had been ever offer'd him, or if Dr *Allen* had ever written to him by that Title. He anſwered that never; and that one haveing ſaid unto him that he

1585. he ſhould have a better Title than he had when he came beyond ſeas. He preſently reply'd, that he would never have better whilſt he lived. They aſked what cauſe moved him to write to Dr *Allen:* He anſwer'd that upon Master *Bridges* his Speeches, who told him that the Earl of *Leiceſter* had vow'd to make the name of a Catholick as odious in *England* as the name of a Turk, and therefore wiſhed him to write to Dr *Allen*, that if ſome means might be found how to deal with that *Earl*, or that he might be taken away by ſome lawfull means, it would be a great good for ye Catholick Cauſe, and a great ſafety to all Catholicks here in *England.* And this he ſaid becauſe he doubted they had intercepted his Letter to Dr *Allen* by Mr *Dun's* means, who knew where it was, and that at his departure to Sea, it was not out of *England.*

After this they charged him with a Letter that contained great danger both to the *Queen* and State: to which he anſwer'd moſt truly that he never heared nor

nor knew of any ſuch. Whereupon they ſhew'd him one of three ſides of papar at the leaſt, but would not ſuffer him to read more of it than the two firſt lines, which were theſe. *Sir, this Letter containeth ſuch matter as is fitter for the fire to conſume, than to be laid up in your ſtudy.* In it was written (as partly he then perceived by y^e^ Examiners) but better afterwards by other means) that tho' he went away poorly, he ſhould return in glory, and land in *Norfolk* with a great power of Men to trouble both the *Queen* and State. It was written in a hand reſembling his very much unto M^r^ *William Dix* his principal officer, a man of good eſtate in *Norfolk*, and to make it more colourable, it mentioned diverſe particular matters both touching ſales of wood which he had made, and others which he would have made. The Council told him he ſhould be arraigned about y^t^ Letter. His anſwer was that if there were no remedy but that he muſt needs die, he beſeeched God to have mercy on his ſoul, and deſired 1585.

1585. deſired their Lordſhips to become humble ſuitors to the *Queen* in his behalf that he might not be called in queſtion of his life for that of which he was never guilty; but as innocent both from that and all kind of Treaſon, as the child now newly born. That Letter doubtleſſe was forged by ſome of his enimies who intended to have thereby procured his Death and Deſtruction. It was firſt brought to light, as he underſtood afterwards, by Sir *Francis Walſingham* the *Queen's* Secretary a heavy friend of his, or by ſome of his inſtruments, and was pretended to have been intercepted at the very time of his going to ſea; by which it was apparent to have been forged by ſome who had notice beforehand of his going, as the Secretary and ſome others of his greateſt enimies had, even from the beginning. But moſt of the Council could never be aſcertain'd either where or how it was taken: for which reſpect the beſt of them did eſteem of it no otherwiſe than a forged thing, as indeed it evidently appeared to

to be by ſome things contain'd in it, which ſhewed that the writer had in truth ſmal knowledge or acquaintance with the *Earl's* affaires. And therefore they neither thought it convenient ever to arraign him thereupon as ſome of them had threaten'd; nor when he was brought into the Starrchamber (which was done not long after) where all that could be alledged againſt him was manifeſted to the world and exaggerated to the utmoſt, this Letter for any thing I could ever learn, was never mention'd. 1585.

The principal points alledged againſt him there, were his attempting to have left the Realm without licence of the *Queen*. His being reconciled to the Church of *Rome*. Together with a certain writing of his ſervant *Burlacy*, who was one of thoſe who was to have gone with him, wherein ſomething was contein'd about his being to be made Duke of *Norfolk*. To which laſt he proteſted that *Burlacy* never acquainted him with any ſuch thing, and that he never ſo much as heared thereof until the preſent time

1585. time wherein they alledged it againſt him. His writing to, and intellegence with Dr *Allen* was brought againſt him. But as for his being reconciled, he acknowledged that he had confeſſed his ſins to a Prieſt, and had been abſolved by him from them, the which he ſaid, that all might know he was a Catholick: but that in any other manner he was not reconciled. Concerning his writing to Dr *Allen*, he anſwered as he had done before unto the Council when they examined him thereof. And for his attempting to leave the Kingdome, he alledged the reaſons which he had ſet down in his Letter to the *Queen*, and were well known to the Council and many more, becauſe Mr *Bridges* ſoon after his taking and apprehenſion had publiſh'd it among the Catholicks, tho' without any order from him, yea utterly againſt his mind. Finally he gave ſuch ſufficient anſwers to every thing that was objected againſt him, and behaved himſelf ſo diſcreetly, with ſuch cheerfullneſs and alacrity that he got that day much credit and reputation both to his

his perſon and cauſe, tho' he were then fined by that Court in 10000 pounds unto the *Queen*, and adjudged to Impriſonment during her pleaſure, which continued even till his dying day, ten years and more after the ſentence given. 1585.

CHAP. X.

CHAPTER X.

The Strictnes of his Imprisonment, and Hard Usage therein.

1585-6. As his Impriſonment was no leſs long and tedious, than even now I ſignify'd in the precedent Chapter, ſo was it alſo for the moſt part of that time very ſtrict. For beſides the Lieutenant of the *Tower* who had charge over him, there was ever ſome gentleman of good ſort ſpecially appointed by the *Queen* to be his Keeper; by whom he was ſo narrowly looked to, that for ſeveral years he could not ſpeak with any perſon whatſoever but in his preſence and hearing. During y^e^ firſt 13 months after his

his Committment, that is from April 1585, till the end of May 1586 he had no ſervants of his own to attend upon him, and never came out of his chamber to walk in any other room or take the air a little in the garden, but either his Keeper or the Lieutenant, or both of them were ever preſent with him. After that time he was permitted to have ſometimes one, ſometimes two of his own ſervants to be with him, but with ſuch condition, that after their entrance there, they remained as priſoners, and neither could depart thence without ſpecial leave of the Council, nor ſo much as walk into the garden, or into any other room beſides their Lords lodgings, but at ſuch times and with ſuch perſons, as it pleaſed the Keeper to appoint, and all the reſt of the night and day they were lock'd up, and could not ſpeak with any body living. In which reſpect, as alſo by reaſon of the uncomfortableneſs of the room wherein they and their Lord were lock'd up, as having no ſight of the Sun for the greateſt 1585-6.

1585-6. greateſt part of the year, together with the noiſomneſs thereof cauſed by a Vault that was near or under it, which at ſome times did ſmell ſo ill, that the Keeper could ſcarce endure to enter into it, much leſs to ſtay there any time. For theſe reſpects, I ſay, there was none of his ſervants but were long weary of being with him there, before they could obtain licence to be diſmiſſ'd, and ſome of them were kept there untill through weakneſs and indiſpoſition cauſed by being kept ſo cloſe, they were not able to do him almoſt any ſervice, at leaſt not ſuch as his neceſſities did require, he being very often troubled with diverſe Sickneſſes and Diſeaſes, which were occaſioned for the moſt part by his so great reſtraint and ſtrict impriſonment, as ſome learned Phyſitians who beſt knew the ſtate of his body did affirm.

But neither were his Infirmities and Indiſpoſitions tho' many and great; nor his Impriſonment tho' long and ſtrict, ſo grievous and troubleſome unto him as ſome other things he there endured.

As

As firſt; the hard and harſh dealing of the Lievetenant, who, as I have heared both from his Lady and others, did all he could to afflict and vex him. The *Earl* himſelf in a letter which he wrote to a certain friend of his ſomething more than a year before his death, did ſignify it in this manner. His injuries (towit the Lieutenant) to me both by himſelf and his truſty *Roger* are intollerable, infinite, dayly multiply'd, and to thoſe who know them not, incredible: and the moſt that you can imagin, will be far inferior, I think, to the truth when you ſhall hear it. Secondly; the bad diſpoſition of ſome of his Keepers, who beſides their ſtrictneſs towards him went about to intrap him, had he not been very wary and circumſpect, and did ſometimes report things of him, that not only were wholy fals, but might have been, and perhaps were of great prejudice unto him. As that he never ſpoke one good word of the *Queen*, when as in all occaſions he ſpoke with great reſpect of her, and proteſted many times in their preſence 1585-6.

1585-6. ſence and hearing, that he was alwayes ready to do any lawfull thing that lay in his power to do her Service and give her Contentment. One of thoſe his Keepers who made great ſhew of friendſhip unto him would often take occaſion to aſk him what he would do if the *Pope* ſhould excommunicate the *Queen*, or make any War againſt her: and if he were ſilent therein, or paſſed it away by talking of other matters without anſwering directly to thoſe Queſtions, yet profeſſing all Loyalty and Duty to the *Queen*, moſt commonly he would ſend his Man the next day with Letters to the Court, as the *Earl* himſelf did obſerve, who tho' he would not directly judge, yet he could not but fear there was no good meaning nor dealing therein.

CHAPTER XI.

Other Injuries and Calumnies during his Imprisonment.

Besides the Injuries received from his Keepers and the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, the Ingratitude and Treachery of ſome who had been his ſervants in former times and had received great benefits from him, together with the unkind dealing of ſome who were very near in blood unto him was no ſmal occaſion of affliction to his mind. For whereas the *Duke* his Father had made ſuch a kind of conveyance of the greateſt part of his Eſtate that it could not be forfeited by attainder, as *de facto* it was not by his own, 1585-6.

1585-6. own, but came all ſafely to the *Earl* his Son, ſome who knew the particulars of his Eſtate better than others as haveing been employ'd in his affaires, did not only upon his attainder treacherouſly diſcover all they could to his detriment, but moreover proſecuted the ſuit in the *Queen's* behalf in ſuch manner againſt him, that a good part of his Lands was thereby loſt which otherwiſe had been ſaved. His own Brother alſo the Lord *Thomas Howard* made meanes unto the *Queen* immediately upon his attainder for the obtaining to his own uſe and behoof of diverſe Lordſhips belonging unto him, the which ſome others who were ſtrangers unto him (as in particular Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*) out of friendſhip and honourable reſpect would not accept of, when they were offered unto them by the *Queen* her ſelf without any motion at all from themſelves.

Another of his afflictions proceeded from the malice of ſome about the Court who did their utmoſt endeavour not only to incenſe the *Queen* againſt him, to defame

fame and diſgrace him with the world but alſo to have wrought his Death, Ruin, and Deſtruction. They poſſeſſed the *Queen* that he made himſelf a Catholick, or rather made ſhew to be ſuch an one, not out of any Religion, but only to oppoſe himſelf to her and ſhew a diſlike of her Government and proceedings. His Lady at the beginning of his troubles, going unto the *Queen* to ſue for him, was rated exceedingly by Sir *Francis Knowles* then Privy Counſellour, aſking her if ſhe and her Huſband were not aſhamed to make themſelves Papiſts only out of ſpleen and peeviſh humour to croſs, and vex the *Queen*. The like they endeavoured to have perſwaded the world of him, publiſhing y^t^ he was of no Religion, and to make it more probable, they brought one who in publick Court at *Weſtminſter* took a ſolemn oath that he heared a Catholick Prieſt ſay, that the Earl of *Arundel* had ſo ſmal regard of Religion that he would not ſtick to hear *Maſſe in the Morning*, and go in the *Afternoon to a Proteſtant Sermon*. And 1585-6.

1585-6. And this Calumnie was ſo divulged, that ſome of his Keepers told him, how very many in y^e^ Kingdome were of opinion that he made ſhew to be a Catholick only out of Policy: to whom with great mildneſs he made this anſwer. "That God alone doth know the ſecrets "of mens hearts, and, that he thought "there was ſmal policy for a man to loſe "his Liberty, hazard his Eſtate and Life, "and live in that manner in a Priſon as "he then did."

To move the *Queen* moreover againſt him and make him be abridged of the little liberty which after much ſuite he had obtained of the Council to go out of his own Lodging in the company of his Keeper to walk ſometimes a little in a certain Gallery within the *Tower*, they informed her, that many Caps and Knees, and Courteſies were made unto him, when he ſtood in the Gallery Window: which was ſo wholy fals as he proteſted in a Letter to the L^d^ Chancellor, that he neither ever ſaluted any one, nor any one made the leaſt ſhew towards

towards him in that place: but that it was true that walking one day in the Garden with his Keeper, one from the leads of the Salttower ſaluted him with a very low reverence. Whereat he marvail'd and deſired his Keeper, to talk with him, who had the cuſtody of that Tower and to charge him that he might no more be ſo abuſed. Yet four or five dayes after the ſame man, in the ſame place not contented with an ordinary ſalutation or reverence, bowed himſelf ſo low that his head was within a foot of the ground, and then lifting up his hands he remain'd in that poſture looking directly in the *Earl's* and his Keeper's face whilſt they walked the whole length of the alley. The which they ſeeing and being troubled thereat, to avoid it they preſently went into the other part of the Garden. But immediatly the man removed himſelf alſo to the other ſide of the leads which was neareſt to the place where they were, and there uſed the like ceremonies as before. Which made the *Earl* think that either the man was mad or 1585-6.

1585-6. or ſet there of purpoſe to mock him, or for a ground to raiſe that report which was made to the *Queen* of his being ſaluted with Caps and Courteſies for the hindering y^t^ little liberty he had obtain'd of the Council.

And not without cauſe he might ſuſpect it was done on ſet purpoſe to moleſt and abuſe him, ſeeing by experience he found far greater and worſe things to have been done of ſet purpoſe againſt him. For beſides the forging the Letter above mentioned, which was before his comeing into y^e^ *Tower;* after his comeing thither they ſlandered him firſt; * * * * and ſent a certain Catholick Gentlewoman (Mrs. *Albridge* afterwards marryed to Dr. *Lodge*) with whome I was acquainted and whoſe huſband was a dependent of Sir *Francis Walſingham* then Secretary, and had been his ſpye at *Rome* and other places diverſe years, to give notice to his Lady thereof upon pretence ſhe might take ſome ſecret order * * * * * leſt otherwiſe the matter might come to light, and

and her Lord be diſgraced. But ſhe out of the aſſurance of his innocency therein, and ſurmiſing it to be ſome plot of his enimies, as indeed it was, to diſgrace him and afflict her, gave ſuch anſwer to the gentlewoman whoſe ſimplicity was abuſed therein, that ſhe remained much aſhamed to have been ſo over credulous in ſuch a buſineſs which upon a little examination appeared not only improbable, but altogether impoſſible, conſidering both the ſtrict impriſonment of the Earl, he never going out of his chamber without either his Keeper or the Lieutenant, or both of them with him, nor any comeing into it but in their preſence, and with their conſent. As alſo his ſickneſs and infirmity at the very time. * * * *

1585-6.

But this Calumny not ſucceeding, as being too palpable a falſity, they went about to defame him of Intemperance in drinking, a vice from which he was exceeding far, as all thoſe who waited on him did ever teſtifie: for that betwixt his meals he never uſed to drink at all, and at his meals was alwayes very moderate.

All

1585-6. All ye ground they had for the raiſing this report was that he uſed for a time to drink thrice a week a little metheglin in the morning to comfort his ſtomach being weak. Divers other ſuch like ſlanders they raiſed of him at ſeveral times, and they were ſo many, that himſelf in a letter to a friend did ſay, it ſeemed to him they roſe as Hydra's heads, no ſooner one did fall, but more ſtill were raiſed in room thereof. And ſo many gins were dayly laid to intrapp him, that had he not been very wary and circumſpect he had been brought into very great danger oftentimes.

CHAPTER XII.

The Means and Manner how He was Intrap'd.

THOUGH his waryneſs was very great to keep himſelf from either doing or ſaying any thing that might be occaſion of any danger to him, yet was he at length brought into it by means of ſome Catholicks then priſoners in the *Tower*, whoſe weakneſs was therein abuſed by his enimies. Theſe were Sir *Thomas Gerard* a Knight of good worth in *Lancaſhire:* one Mr. *Shelly* a *Suſſex* gentleman, and Mr. *William Bennet* an old Prieſt of Queen *Mary's* dayes, who having been conformable for a time unto Queen *Elizabeth's* proceedings, 1588.

1588. proceedings, becauſe afterwards he was reconciled again to the Catholick Church, he ſo much thereby incurred the diſpleaſure of the State, that he was therefore committed priſoner to the *Tower*, where he was placed in a chamber not far from the lodgings of the *Earl*, who having at that time, which was about y^e^ beginning of the year 1588 and three years after his commitment, much more liberty than ever he had either before or after, and deſiring to meet and ſpeak with him for the comfort of his own ſoul, found means to bring it to effect by mediation of the Lieutenant's Daughter who had thirty pound given her by the *Earl's* lady (as herſelf told me) for her endeavour in procuring it. This being firſt obtain'd, he uſed ſuch diligence afterwards that he got alſo churchſtuff and all things requiſit for the celebration of the holy Sacrifice of the Maſs whereto himſelf did ſerve with great humility, and therein receiv'd the bleſſed Sacrament frequently as long as that liberty did laſt; during which time he met alſo w^th^ Sir *Thomas Gerard* both at Maſs

Maſs and at other times, as alſo with M^r^ *Shelly* tho' not ſo frequently. 1588.

Much diſcours there was about that time of the great *Spaniſh* Fleet which was then in preparation, whereupon it happened that the *Earl* in his diſcourſes with them did manifeſt ſometimes much affection to the King of *Spain*, not only in regard of the obligation and duty he bore unto him as being his Godfather; but alſo becauſe in thoſe times and for diverſe years he was the chief maintainer and defender of the Catholick Religion. And in reſpect there went then a rumor very currant amongſt y^e^ Catholicks about *London*, that a ſuddain Maſſacre of them all was intended upon the firſt landing of the *Spaniards*, and this comeing to the *Earl's* ear, out of his Piety he judged it neceſſary that all Catholicks ſhould forthwith apply themſelves to Prayer either for the avoiding of that danger, or for the better preparing themſelves thereto. And to the end it might be done more orderly and efficaciouſly, he both perſuaded the above mentioned with whom

1588. he ſpoke to make Prayer for four and twenty hours togather for that end, and alſo ſent to ſome others to the ſame purpoſe, whereof one of greater prudence and experience than the reſt ſignify'd unto him that perhaps it might be otherwiſe interpreted by the State, than he intended, wiſhing him therefore to deſiſt; as preſently thereupon he did, but when it was too late. For ſome of his enimies having got intelligence thereof, took occaſion to conceive all that Prayer to be made and meant by him for the good ſucceſs of the *Spaniſh* Fleet, and afterwards induced both M^r^ *Shelly* and Sir *Thomas Gerard* either through fear or fair promiſes to teſtifie the ſame againſt him, as alſo M^r^ *Bennet* to confeſſe how he had entreated him to ſay a Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt to the ſame effect.

CHAPTER XIII.

His Examination about that Business.

After the fear of the *Spaniſh* Fleet was well paſſed, towards the end of the year 88, the *Earl* was again committed to cloſe cuſtody, and twice examin'd by ſome of the Council who were purpoſely ſent by the *Queen* for that end to y^e^ *Tower*. The firſt time was by Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton* then L^d^ Chancellor, Sir *William Cecil* L^d^ Treaſurer, and Sir *Thomas Hennage* who had ever been a great enimy of his. They examin'd him firſt about his deſireing M^r^ *Bennet* to ſay Maſs for the ſucceſs of the *Spaniards*, and of making the 1588.

1588. the Prayer of 24 hours to the ſame end: to both which he anſwer'd negatively. That he ſhould have ſaid, how the Catholicks e'er long would plague the Proteſtants as well as they had been plagued by them. To which he ſaid he hoped their Lordſhips did not think him of ſo bad a conſcience as to go with ſuch a mind to Maſs, and to receive the bleſſed Sacrament as he uſually did then. Laſtly they charged him with burning certain papers at Maſſe time, which they affirmed to contain matter of great importance and intelligence, and moreover that he determined to get the ſtrongeſt place in the *Tower* for his defence againſt the comeing of the *Spaniards*. To both which he anſwered ſo fully, that they were never after alledged againſt him, neither at his arraignment, nor in his ſecond examination. For the papers contained nothing as he proteſted but his confeſſion, and matters concerning his conſcience: and to y^e^ other, that becauſe it was ſaid a Maſſacre was intended to be made of them, he ſeemed to approve Sir

Thomas

Thomas Gerard's propoſition, who told him that y^e^ lodgings where he lay were the beſt for their defence, as having in them ſome gunſtones, and other weapons w^ch^ he ſhewed him. 1588.

For his ſecond examination beſides thoſe three which came before, the Lord *Hunſdon* was alſo ſent by the *Queen*. And therein after the three firſt points objected in his firſt examination, they added that he ſhould ſay, *Cardinal Allen had the diſpoſition of the Crown;* whereto the party to whom it was ſpoken ſhould anſwer *that was a purple word.* To all w^ch^ he having anſwered negatively, immediately M^r^ *Bennet* and Sir *Thomas Gerard* were brought forth to affirm before his face, that of the Maſs and 24 hours of Prayer, but he was enjoin'd not to ſpeak at all, nor make any anſwer unto them. The which was done as he conceived and ſignified to a friend, only to embolden them againſt the time they ſhould come to y^e^ bar againſt him. After their departure he was bid to ſay what he would; but becauſe he judged that offer to be made

1588. made only out of policy to know his anſwers before hand, that ſo his Accuſers and Adverſaries might be the better prepared to make reply thereto againſt the time of his arraignment, therefore he contain'd himſelf, and made no anſwer at all.

Whereupon the *Lord Treaſurer* abruptly aſked him whether he would hold him for a Traitor who ſhould ſay that the *Pope* had any authority to deprive the *Queen*. His anſwer was, that he never heared any ſay ſo, and when he did his Lordſhip ſhould hear what he would ſay. The *Treaſurer* urged him twice or thrice to anſwer categoricè: the like was done by the *Lord Chamberlain:* to whom he ſaid that he wonder'd, he ſhould be aſked ſuch queſtions, ſeeing he was accuſed of no ſuch matter, and both had been, and was at all times ready to ſerve the *Queen* with his life and goods againſt any Prince or Potentate whatſoever: to which the *Lord Chamberlain* replyed. What againſt the *Pope?* He anſwer'd by aſking whether the *Pope* was not included within the name

name of a forreign Prince or Potentate? And as he ſignify'd in a Letter to a friend, tho' he knew he might ſafely have anſwer'd affirmatively to y^t^ queſtion, yet becauſe he ſaw them determined to take his Life, as he then thought, and knew not how they would miſreport his Words, for fear of giveing Scandal he would not anſwer directly. Then one of the Examiners ſaid the *Pope was an errant knave*, another called him *Pild Italian Prieſt*. and the *Lord Chamberlain* entring into paſſion called the *Earl* Beaſt and Traytor, and ſaid rather than he ſhould not be hanged within four dayes, that he himſelf would hang him, repeating it once or twice. To which the *Earl* anſwered, the ſooner the better if it pleaſe *God*. The which he ſaid that the *Chamberlain* might know he feared not his threats. and when as the ſaid *Lord Chancellor* urged him to ſet down under his hand that he would not anſwer to that queſtion of the *Pope's* power to depoſe y^e^ *Queen* he flatly denyed to do it, as being a thing no way belonging or pertaining 1588.

1588. taining to him. The *Treaſurer* who ſaid it was no marvell he was ſo ſettled in Religion, becauſe he did read nothing to the contrary. He anſwered reſolutely, that he neither did nor would do by his Lordſhip's favour. And therewith they all roſe, left him and went their way.

CHAP. XIV.

CHAPTER XIV.

His Arraignment and Condemnation.

Not long after theſe examinations he was brought from the *Tower* to the *King's Bench Court* in the Hall of *Weſtminſter*, and there publickly arraigned about the aforeſaid points upon the 14 day of *April* 1589. Yet in the mean time it ſo happened that Mr *Bennet* the Prieſt who was one of his accuſers, being removed from the *Tower*, and Priſoner at that time in the Counter of *Wood Street* in *London* haveing remorſe of conſcience for what he had already done, writ this following Letter to him, and by means of a Catholick 1589.

1589. lick then Priſoner in the ſame Counter, got it ſent to his Lady. The Superſcription was in this manner.

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Arundel *be theſe delivered.* The Letter thus.

Right Honourable and Moſt Noble Peer. I moſt humbly upon my knees before *God* and all His Angels, and before all the world, if need require, w^th^ a moſt penitent, rent, and afflicted conſcience and heart, crave mercy and forgiveneſs for the great offence I have committed againſt your Honour in my laſt troubles and confeſſions. So it is Right Honourable, that being called in queſtion about certaine ſuppoſed offences in the *Tower*, unto which my anſwer not being to their contentment, a letter of mine own hand, which I writ to a Prieſt there in defence of my Juriſdiction by him brought in queſtion, was produced; and becauſe therein I derived my authority from the See Apoſtolick, I was accounted and term'd

term'd as a dead man amongſt them without her Majeſtie's ſpecial pardon which was promiſed upon condition &c *Pauca ſapienti.* With many fair promiſes and allurements togather with many thundering threats of returning to the *Tower*, torments and death it ſelf, if I failed. Which unexpected Letter of mine, with threats mingled w^th^ promiſe of life and ſpeedy liberty, togather with the great weakneſs both of body and mind by reaſon of my long and ſore impriſonment, I was ſtroken into ſuch an aſtoniſhment and maze, that I confeſſ'd every thing that ſeemed to content their humour, which I perceived not at the firſt altogether to tend to the ruin of your Honour. 1589.

But being demanded whether you did ſend a Note to the Prieſts in *Coleharbor* to pray for the good ſucceſs of the *Spaniſh* Fleet, I anſwered, as truth was, that I never knew, or was privy to any ſuch Note: yet with a guilty, fearfull unjuſt and moſt tormented conſcience only for ſaveing of my life and liberty, I confeſſed

1589. I confeſſed that you moved me to ſay a Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt for the good ſucceſs of the *Spaniſh* Fleet. For which unjuſt confeſſion, or rather accuſation I do again and again, and ſo to my life's end moſt inſtantly crave *God's* pardon and your's, and for my better ſatisfaction of this my unjuſt ſuggeſtion I will if need require, offer up both life and limbs in averring my accuſation to be, as it is indeed, and as I ſhall anſwer before *Almighty God*, before the face of Angels and Men, moſt unjuſt, and done only of fear of the *Tower*, torments, and death. Thus not doubting of your Honour's gratious pardon and forgiveneſs, I will reſt my poor afflicted conſcience in only *God's* mercy. My body and life I freely offer to the world to diſpoſe as it ſhall pleaſe *God*. The Holy Trinity preſerve your Honour from peril of ſoul and body. Amen.

Your Honours poor Beadſman
WILLIAM BENNET *Prieſt*.

This Letter was incloſed and faſt ſealed

ſealed in another of a different hand without name or date, endorſed thus: 1589.

To the Right Honourable the Counteſs of Arundel *theſe be dd*[d]. The contents as followeth.

My duty, (Right Honourable and very good Lady) conſidered; theſe are to advertiſe your Ladyſhip, that whereas my Lord your Huſband hath been wrongfully accuſed by one who hartily repenting himſelf thereof, hath here, as I take it, both acknowledged this fault, and craved pardon for the ſame. I thought it a part of Chriſtian Charity (though I am utterly unknown both to your Lord and yourſelf) to convey them to your Honour cloſe ſeal'd, hoping they will be ſome teſtimony of your Huſband's innocency. Charging your Honour as you will anſwer at the dreadfull Day of Judgment (pardon me good Madam I beſeech you) not to accept of them, except you reſolve never to ſhew them till your ſaid Huſband come in queſtion. And

1589. And thus hoping to find that expectation of honour and vertue which is eſteem'd to be in your Honour, I do moſt humbly take my leave, committing your Honour to *God's* merciful tuition.

At the *Earl's* Arraignment both Sir *Thomas Gerard* and M^r *Bennet* were brought in perſon to give witneſs againſt him: the one that he required a Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt to be ſaid for the ſucceſs of the *Spaniards:* the other that the Prayer of 24 hours was directed to the ſame end. Both which he deny'd very ſtout and conſtantly, pleading the above-mention'd Letter of M^r *Bennet* againſt his teſtification in ſuch manner that he not being able to deny it, ſome of the Lords there preſent told him he was a fals man and no lawful witneſs. Many other things were objected and exaggerated againſt him by the *Queen's* Council, to all which he anſwer'd ſo reſolute and readily, that moſt there preſent were of opinion he would have been acquitted by the Noblemen his Peers, but it proved far otherwiſe.

wiſe. For he was condemmed of High Treaſon, and accordingly had Sentence then pronounced againſt him: the which he heared not only without being daunted therewith any thing at all, but ſhewing moreover ſuch a chearfullneſs in his looks, as well witneſſed the inward innocency and quiet of his mind. 1589.

CHAP. XV.

CHAPTER XV.

WHAT HE DID AFTER HIS CONDEMNATION.

1589. THE day after his Condemnation he writ, and ſent this enſuing Letter to the *L^d^ Chancellor.*

My ſpecial good Lord. I am moſt hartily ſorry that I was ſo prevented by my haſty departure from the Bar, preſently after the Sentence pronounced upon me, as I wanted time to make humble ſuite for her Majeſty's favour. And I am very glad that I have this oportunity of writing to your Lordſhip to make humble Petition unto her Majeſty in my behalf

half for her gratious favour together with my moſt harty grief for any thing whereinſoever I have offended her Highneſs in all y^e courſe of my life. As alſo to give your L^dſhip humble thanks for your honourable goodneſs always extended towards me, and to become a moſt earneſt ſuiter for the continuance thereof to my Wife and Children. And as a dead man to this world, and in all good will whilſt I live, your Lordſhips moſt affectionate I humbly take my leave, beſeeching God to ſend you all honour and happineſs in this world to his glory, and my poor ſoul a joyfull meeting with yours in Heaven. The day after my Condemnation. 1589.

Your L^dſhip's moſt humbly
at commandment till my laſt
PHILIPP HOWARD.

But in another Letter to Father *Southwell* he declares that his meaning in thoſe words of the precedent Letter wherein he acknowledged a hearty grief for having offended the *Queen*, was not

1589. for any of thoſe things whereof he had been arraign'd, but in reſpect he had ſo long time waited upon her, it could not be, but that he had offended her many wayes in the cours of his life, and being then deſireous to aſk pardon of the meaneſt perſon living thereby to be the better prepared for death which he dayly expected; much more he thought it convenient to do the ſame of the *Queen*. And ſo much he declared alſo to the Gentleman who then was his keeper, adding withall that he would never make ſubmiſſion, or crave pardon of any thing whereof he was arraigned, conſidering he had committed no fault therein, and therefore would never bely himſelf. To the ſame effect he writ then alſo a Letter to the *Queen* herſelf with proteſtation of his innocency; the which yet was not delivered, by reaſon the *L^d Chancellor* was of opinion it would rather incenſe her againſt him, than otherwiſe. He reſolved moreover if he ſhould be put to death for that cauſe, publickly to declare himſelf innocent and faultleſs therin: And

And becauſe Catholicks were not ſometimes permitted then to ſpeak any thing for the clearing of themſelves, he therefore provided a writing by which he declared his mind, and thereof writ diverſe copies both in Engliſh and Latin with his own hand and ſubſcribed with his name, intending at his execution to caſt them amongſt the people, in caſe he were not permitted to ſpeak. The form of them was as follows. 1589.

Seeing Almighty God hath vouchſafed of his infinit goodneſs to call me being the meaneſt of all his ſervants, and moſt unworthy, I muſt confeſs, of ſo great honour to bear witneſs of the Catholick Faith, and Roman Church, I thought it fit, for preventing of all ſiniſter practices, which might be uſed either to the diſgrace of my faith or diſcredit of my ſelf to teſtify that under my hand, in as effectual manner, as I could, which I am ready to ſeal with my blood, by the grace and aſſiſtance of our *Lord*, whenſoever need and occaſion ſhall require:

1589. quire: that neither the innocency of my mind, nor integrity of mine actions may be defaced by the untrue ſuggeſtions of others (as to men in my ſtate it often happens) nor my firm reſolution in the Catholick and Roman Faith perverted by the falſe reports of evill diſpoſed perſons. For albeit I muſt acknowledge my ſelf moſt frail, and a heinous ſinner, yet as I am bound to maintain in my ſelf the name and faith of a Catholick man (which next unto *God* I hold in greateſt price and account, and which every faithfull Chriſtian ought to eſteem above all other things whatſoever) ſo do I moſt deſire that all men ſhould take me for ſuch an one, as in truth I am, and that no man ſhould be either miſlead or beguiled by malicious and untrue reports to think otherwiſe of me, than both my words and deeds do plainly teſtifie. Wherefore for the ſatisfaction of all men, and diſcharge of my conſcience before *God*, I here proteſt before His Divine Majeſty and all the Holy Court of Heaven, that I have committed no treaſon,

ſon, and that the Catholick and Roman Faith which I hold, is the only cauſe (as far as I can any way imagin) why either I have been thus long impriſoned, or for which I am now ready to be executed. And I do moſt firmly, reſolutly and unmoveably hold and believe this One, Holy, Catholick, and Apoſtolick Faith. And as I will die in ye ſame ſo am I moſt ready at all times, if need be, to yield my life for defence thereof. And whatſoever ye moſt ſacred Council of *Trent* hath eſtabliſhed touching faith and manners, I believe and hold. And whatſoever it hath condemned, I condemn in my ſoul, and renounce here under my hand, and abjure from the bottom of my heart. And I do moſt earneſtly deſire, that all Catholicks conceive this opinion of me, and take me ſo, as I have here proteſted myſelf to be, and not credit any untrue reports that have, may, or ſhall be ſpread of me to the contrary: for as *Chriſt* is life unto me, ſo account I death a moſt happy and glorious gain unto me being in defence of His Faith, and 1589.

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1589. and for His Holy Name. And thus I will conclude with beſeeching *Almighty God* the Father of mercies, and God of all conſolation to grant peace unto His Church, charity and grace to mine enemies, ſalvation and felicity to the *Queen*, and realm, and to me as an untimely fruit (being born before my time) and the meaneſt of all His ſervants a conſtant perſeverance in His Holy Faith and the love of His Divine Majeſty. Amen. By me a moſt humble and obedient child of the Catholick Roman Church.

PHILIPP HOWARD.

The ſame in ſubſtance which is contain'd in this Writing he told unto the Gentleman his keeper, as himſelf ſignify'd in a private Letter to F^r *Southwel* which I have ſeen: to wit, that at his death he would proteſt he died only for Religion, and was wholy guiltleſs of any true crime againſt the *Queen*. And when the Gentleman told him: But if ſome aſk you then of particulars, whether you had required

required a Maſs to be ſaid for the good ſucceſs of the *Spaniards* &c. what will you ſay? His anſwer was this. Marry deny it as I did in my examination and arraignment. The Gentleman replying that he thought a man at that time would ſpeak as afore *God*. He anſwer'd that a man who fears *God* would do the ſame in any place, and ſince I deny'd, ſaith he, in a place of open Juſtice, you have no cauſe to doubt that I will deny it at my death, and that I did it not. The Gentleman perceiving thereby his determination gave notice thereof unto the *Lord Chamberlain* and ſome others of the Council, who thereupon as it ſhould ſeem, perſwaded the *Queen* that he might not be put to death, with whom ſome alſo that were well affected towards him (as the *Chancellor* and *Treaſurer*) did concurr, contrary to y^e^ mind and deſire of others who were his enimies. But whether it were upon the advice of thoſe Councellors, or ſome other reſpect different from the abovementioned that the *Queen* defer'd his Execution, and in the end reſolved 1589.

1589. reſolved to ſpare his Life, yet it was not notified unto him of a long time, rather y^e^ contrary was diverſe times inſinuated; whereby it came to paſs that he was in a continual expectation of death and making preparation for it very carefully diverſe years. For tho' he lived very regularly ever after his Committment to the *Tower*, and ſpent much time every day in Prayer and Devotion, yet more after his Condemnation than before, as well will appear by that, I ſhall ſet down in the Chapter following of the courſe and order he uſed to obſerve therein.

CHAPTER XVI.

The Manner of his Life in ye Tower.

In the beginning when he was firſt committed to the *Tower*, he ſpent two hours or thereabouts every morning at his Prayers. One hour and a half in the afternoons, and one quarter before he went to bed in the examination of his conſcience, and recommendation of himſelf to *Almighty God*. And after ſome time he adjoined to his other Devotions the ſaying of the Prieſtly Office, and thereby was of force ſomething longer at prayer than before, which pious cuſtome he continued untill the Phyſicians 1588.

1588. ſicians by reaſon of his Weakneſs ſome ſmal time before his Death compell'd him to leave it of. But after his Condemnation he ſpent betwixt four and five hours every morning in prayer and meditation and betwixt three and four, in the afternoon. The reſt of his time excepting that little he ſpent in walking or ſome other corporal exerciſe appointed by the Phyſicians, he beſtowed either in writing or tranſlating Books of Piety. One Book of *Lanſpergius* containing an Epiſtle of *Jeſus Chriſt* to y^e^ Faithfull Soul he tranſlated out of Latin into Engliſh, and cauſed it to be printed for the furtherance of Devotion. He writ alſo Three Treatiſes of the Excellency and Utility of Vertue which never came to light by reaſon he was forced to ſend them away upon fear of a ſearch before they were fully perfected and poliſhed. He uſed to read the Spiritual Books of Father *Louis de Granada* very frequently; and at other times the Works of S. *Jerome*, and other Ancient Fathers; as alſo old Hiſtoriagraphers, particularly *Euſebius*,

Euſebius, in which, as he ſignify'd unto Fr *Southwel*, he found exceeding comfort for the confirmation of his Faith by beholding there how the Church was in her Infancy. Upon Sundays and Feaſts he uſed to read ſome part of the Holy Scriptures with ſpecial reverence and humility. 1588.

In the year 1588. ſoon after his ſecond Committment to cloſe Priſon, he began to faſt three days every week, Mundays, Wedneſdays and Fridays, and in them neither fleſh nor fiſh. But finding by experience that his body was not able to endure ſo much, he altered it in this manner. That his one meal on Mundays was of fleſh: on Wedneſdays of fiſh: on Fridays of neither fleſh nor fiſh, and abſtaining alſo from all whitmeats and wine. And this manner he obſerved conſtantly both before and after his Arraignment (excepting only the Wedneſday immediatly following it, wherein he did eat ſome ſmal thing for Supper having then ſome ſpecial need thereof) untill he was preſcribed by his Phyſicians to

1588. to alter that courſe, which was not long before his Death. Many times he uſed alſo the ſame abſtinence upon Thurſdays as upon Mundays with only one meal of fleſh. And upon ſome ſpecial dayes he abſtained wholy from all kind of ſuſtenance either meat or drink. Theſe were the Vigils of the Feaſts of Corpus Chriſti, of the Aſcenſion of our Saviour, of all Saints, as alſo the Eves of the Feaſts of the B^d^ Virgin, to whom he was particularly devout. Yet he carry'd it in ſuch manner that none ever had any knowledg thereof, excepting one Gentleman his ſervant, from whom I had it, whoſe help he uſed therein. For upon thoſe dayes as ſoon as his dinner was brought in, the reſt both of his own and the Lieutenant's ſervants being ſent out, and the dore faſt ſhut, he made him eat and drink the ſame quantity that himſelf uſually did on other faſting dayes, which being done, and the door open again, the other ſervants came in to take away as at other times without ever perceiving any thing at all, by reaſon they ſaw his trenchers

trenchers and napkin folded, and as much meat eaten as on other dayes. 1588.

His hour of riſing in the morning was conſtantly at five of the clock having to that end a Larum in his chamber, and was very carefull that it ſhould be ſet overnight. Immediatly as ſoon as he was riſen out of bed, he fell down upon his bare knees, and breath'd forth in ſecret his firſt Devotions to *Almighty God*, his eyes and hands lifted up to Heaven with his kneeling in that manner then and at other times, his knees were grown very hard and black. While he made him ſelf ready (wherein he ſpent but little time) he uſed ſome vocal prayers wherein he was ſo unwilling to be interrupted, that if it happen'd any of his ſervants to have ſpoken but a word unto him in that time, he would make no anſwer at all, till he had ended, and then would tell them how great a diſpleaſure therein they did unto him, warning them withall to do the like no more. All the following hours of y^e^ day were very orderly diſtributed by him into a certain and ſet manner,

1588. manner, ſome to one exerciſe, ſome to another; but the moſt, as I ſaid before, to Prayer and practiſe of Devotion. And always at nine at night, except upon ſome extraordinary occaſion, after the examination of his conſcience, he betook himſelf to his reſt. In thoſe times which were allotted to walking or other recreation, his diſcourſe and converſation either with his Keeper, or the Lieutenant, or his own ſervants was either tending to Piety, or ſome profitable diſcourſe, as of the lives and examples of holy men, of the ſufferances and conſtancy of the martyrs of ancient times, from which he would uſually deduce ſome good document or other: as of the facility of a vertuous life after a man had once overcome his ſenſuality; of the happineſs of thoſe that ſuffer'd any thing for our *Saviour's* ſake with ſuch like: to which purpoſe he had writ with his own hand upon the wall of his chamber this Latin ſentence: *Quanto plus afflictionis pro Chriſto in hoc ſæculo, tanto plus gloriæ cum Chriſto in futuro.* The more affliction

tion we endure for *Chriſt* in this world, the more glory we ſhall obtain with *Chriſt* in y^e^ next. The which he uſed often to ſhew to his ſervants as well to animate himſelf to ſuffer all his afflictions with patience and alacrity, as to incite them alſo to do the ſame. 1588.

CHAP. XVII.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Occasion of his last Sickness, and Manner of his Death.

1595. After he had lived diverſe years in this vertuous and pious manner to the great edification of all, and admiration of ſuch as had known the exceeding liberty wherein he lived while he was a Proteſtant: It happen'd that in the month of *Auguſt* of the year 1595, he fell one day ſitting at dinner ſo very ill immediatly upon the eating of a roaſted teal that he was forced to riſe from table, and after ſome vehement caſting he entred into a Diſſentery which could never be ſtay'd till his very death, which gave occaſion unto many to ſuſpect he was poiſoned. Whereupon

Whereupon the *Counteſs* his wife forthwith ſent him ſome antidotes and all the remedies ſhe could any way procure: but all in vain. For the diſeaſe had ſo poſſeſſed him that it could not be removed, but by little and little ſo conſumed his body that he became like an anatomy haveing nothing left but ſkin and bone. Some were of opinion that the poiſon was put by his cook into the ſauce of the roaſted teal being thereto corrupted by one *Nicolas Rainberde* who ſometime had been the *Earl's* ſervant, and after was employ'd by the *Queen* againſt him proſecuting ſundry ſuits in y^e^ Exchequer to overthrow his Eſtate, wherein when he perceived he could not prevail, and fearing perhaps ſome diſgrace or other damage from the *Earl's* procurement for avoiding thereof, judged it his beſt courſe by ſuch wicked means to cauſe his death by ſuch a long and lingering diſeaſe; and two things there were which much encreaſed this ſuſpition. The one that tho' the *Earl* had uſed much endeavour to have the ſaid 1595.

1595. cook removed, yet could by no means obtain it. The other that the ſaid cook came to the *Earl* a little before his death and aſked him forgiveneſs tho' not ſpecifying that thing in particular. But however it was the good *Earl* did freely forgive him, and all others who had any way perhaps concurred thereunto.

He had a great deſire to have the aſſiſtance of Father *Weſton* at his death by whoſe means he was firſt reconciled to the Church: but it would by no means be permitted that either he or any other Prieſt ſhould come to him. He deſired moreover to ſee his brother y^e^ Lord *William Howard*, or his uncle the L^d^ *Henry* (made Earl of *Northampton* afterwards) at leaſt to take his laſt leave of them before his death; but neither would that be granted, no not ſo much as to ſee his brother the L^d^ *Thomas Howard* tho' both then and ever he had been a Proteſtant. The *Queen* had made a kind of promiſe to ſome of his friends in his behalf that before his death his wife and children ſhould come unto him. Whereupon conceiving

conceiving that now his time in this world could not be long, he writ humble letters both to her, and ſome of the Council petitioning the performance of that ſuppoſed promiſe. The Lieutenant of the *Tower* carryed his letters and delivered them with his own hands to the *Queen*, and brought him this anſwer from her by word of mouth. That if he would but once go to their Church, his requeſt ſhould not only be granted, but he ſhould moreover be reſtored to his honour, and eſtates, with as much favour as ſhe could ſhew. Which meſſage being delivered he gave thanks to y^e^ Lieutenant for his pains, and ſaid he could not accept her Ma^ties^ offers upon that condition; adding withall that he was ſorry he had but one life to loſe for that cauſe. A very worthy Gentleman who was preſent at this paſſage has often averr'd it to be true. And I do y^e^ more eaſily believe it in regard the Lord *Buckhurſt*, afterward Earl of *Dorſet*, who was then of the *Queen's* Council and in great reſpect, told the ſame in ſubſtance to his ſon in law the 1595.

1595. the L^d *Antony* Viſcount *Mountague*, from whoſe mouth I hear'd it, greatly condemning the good *Earl* of much want of wiſdome and diſcretion for not accepting ſo great and gracious a favour, as he eſteemed that offer to have been.

Not long after he grew ſo faint and weak decaying by degrees, that he was not able to riſe from his bed. Whereupon by the advice of his Phyſicians he gave over the ſaying of his Breviary and the reading of other books, betaking himſelf only to his Beads and ſome other Devotions whereto by vow he had obliged himſelf; and theſe he never omitted till the very laſt day of his life, having his Beads almoſt alwayes with him in his bed. His Phyſitians comeing to viſit him ſome few dayes before his departure, he deſired them not to trouble themſelves now any more his caſe being beyond their ſkill, and he haveing then ſome buſineſs, meaning his Devotions, which he deſired, but fear'd he ſhould not have time ſufficient to diſpatch. And they thereupon departing Sir *Michel Blount* then Lieutenant

nant of y^e *Tower* who had been ever very hard and harſh unto him, took occaſion to come and viſit him, and kneeling down by his bedſide, in humble manner deſired his Lordſhip to forgive him. Whereto the *Earl* anſwered in this manner. Do you aſk forgiveneſs M^r Lieutenant? Why then I forgive you in the ſame ſort as I deſire my ſelf to be forgiven at the hands of *God*. And then kiſſing his hand offered it in moſt charitable and. kind manner to him, and holding him faſt by the hand ſaid. I pray you alſo to forgive me whatever I have ſaid or done in any thing offenſive to you; and he melting into tears and anſwering that he forgave him with all his heart. The *Earl* raiſed himſelf a little upon his pillow and caſting his eyes towards the Lieutenant made a brief and grave ſpeech unto him in this manner. M^r Lievtenant, you have ſhew'd both me and my men very hard meaſure. Wherein my Lord quoth he? Nay, ſaid the *Earl*, I will not make a recapitulation of any thing, for it is all freely 1595.

1595. freely forgiven. Only I am to ſay unto you a few words of my laſt Will, which being obſerved, may by the grace of *God* turn much to your benefit and reputation. I ſpeak not for my ſelf, for *God* of his goodneſs has taken order that I ſhall be delivered very ſhortly out of your charge: only for others I ſpeak who may be committed to this place. You muſt think Mr Lievtenant that when a priſoner comes hither to this *Tower*, that he bringeth ſorrow with him. Oh then do not add affliction to affliction: there is no man whatſoever that thinketh himſelf to ſtand ſureſt but may fall. It is a very inhuman part to tread on him whom misfortune hath caſt down. The man that is void of mercy, *God* hath in great deteſtation. Your commiſſion is only to keep with ſafety, not to kill with ſeverity. Remember good Mr Lievtenant yt *God* who with his finger turneth the unſtable wheel of this variable world, can in the revolution of a few dayes bring you to be a priſoner alſo, and to be kept in the ſame place where

where now you keep others. There is no calamity that men are ſubject unto, but you may alſo taſte as well as any other man. Farewell M^r^ Lieutenant: for the time of my ſmal abode come to me whenever you pleaſe, and you ſhall be heartily wellcome as my friend. The Lieutenant then humbly took his leave, and went out of the chamber weeping, tho' then perhaps little thinking y^t^ the *Earl's* words, or rather prophecy would ſo ſoon have been fullfill'd in him: for within ſeven weeks after the *Earl's* death, he fell into great diſgrace, loſt his office, and was indeed committed and kept cloſe priſoner in the *Tower* where he had kept others, and another Lieutenant placed, who carry'd as hard a hand over him as he had done over others. 1595.

The laſt night of his life he ſpent for the moſt part in prayer, ſometimes ſaying his Beads ſometimes ſuch Pſalms and Prayers as he knew by heart. And oftentimes uſed theſe holy Aſpirations: O Lord into thy hands I commend my ſpirit. Lord thou ar't my hope; and the

1595. the like. Very frequently moreover invocating the holy names of *Jeſus* and *Mary*. Seeing his ſervants in the morning ſtand by his bedſide weeping in a mournfull manner, he aſk'd them what a clock it was; they anſwering that it was eight or there about. Why then ſaid he, I have almoſt run out my courſe, and come to the end of this miſerable and mortal life, deſiring them not to weep for him ſince he did not doubt by the grace of *God* but all would go well with him. Which being ſaid, he return'd to his Prayers upon his Beads again, tho' then with a very ſlow, hollow and fainting voice, and ſo continued as long as he was able to draw ſo much breath as was ſufficient to ſound out the names of *Jeſus* and the glorious *Virgin*, which were the laſt words which he was ever heard to ſpeak. The laſt minute of his laſt hour being now come, lying on his back, his eies firmly fixt towards Heaven, and his long lean conſumed armes out of the bed, his hand upon his breaſt laid in croſs one upon the other, about

about twelve o'clock at noon, in which hour he was alſo born into this world, arraign'd, condemn'd, and adjudg'd unto death, upon Sunday the 19th of *October* 1595 (after almoſt 11 years Impriſonment in the *Tower*) in a moſt ſweet manner without any ſign of grief or groan, only turning his head a little aſide, as one falling into a pleaſing ſleep, he ſurrender'd his happy ſoul into the hands of *Almighty God*, who to his ſo great glory had created it. 1595.

Some have thought, and perhaps not improbably, that he had ſome foreknowledg of the day of his death, becauſe about ſeven or eight dayes before making certain notes (underſtood only by himſelf) in his Calendar, what Prayers and Devotions he intended to ſay upon every day of the week following, on Munday, Tueſday, &c.: when he came to the Sunday on which he dy'd, he there made a pauſe ſaying, Hitherto and no farther: this is enough: and ſo writ no more, as his ſervants who then heared his words, and ſaw him write, have often teſtified.

CHAPTER XVIII.

His Burial, and other Accidents after his Death.

1595. His corps remain'd till the Tueſday following in the chamber where he dyed, and then being ſhrouded in a poor ſheet, was put into a plain cofin covered with a mean black cloth, and carry'd without any ſolemnity to the Chappell of the *Tower*, and there buried in the Chancel in the very ſelf ſame grave where the *Duke* his Father's was: where it did remain till the year 1624 wherein by the procurement of the *Counteſs* his Wife and the *Earl* his Son it was removed from thence, and brought firſt to her houſe at *Weſt Horſeley* in *Surrey*, and being put into

into an iron coffin, which ſhe cauſed to be purpoſely made, and conveniently adorn'd for it, was ſoon after convey'd to *Arundel* and there depoſited in a vault built at her appointment alſo, for her ſelf and thoſe of her poſterity and family: with this Latin Inſcription upon it. 1595.

PHILIPPI COMITIS olim ARUND. et SUR. oſſa veneranda hoc loculo condita, impetratâ a Jacobo Rege veniâ, Annæ uxoris dilectiſſimæ cura, THOMÆ FILIJ inſigni pietate a Turri Londinenſi in hunc locum tranſlata ſunt anno 1624. Qui 1mo ob fidei Catho. profeſſionem ſub Elizabetha carceri mancipatus, deinde pœnâ pecuniaria 10000 lib. mulctatus, tandem capitis iniquiſſime condemnatus, poſt vitam in aretiſſima cuſtodia in eadem Turri an. 10. mens. 6. ſanctiſſimè tranſactam pijſſime, 19 Oct. 1595 non abſque veneni ſuſpitione in Domino obdormivit.

I forgot to note in the due place that upon the night precedent to the *Earl's* arraignment and condemnation, a Nitingale was hear'd to ſing with great melody in a Jeſſamine tree all ye night long in the Garden of *Arundel Houſe* where his *Counteſs* and Children then did remain, the which may ſeem the more ſtrange in regard the like was neither before, nor ſince

1595. ſince that time ever heared in that place. Another thing as ſtrange did happen in the *Tower* ſoon after his death; for two tame Stags which the Lieutenant kept there for his pleaſure falling into a fury, never deſiſted knocking their horns againſt the walls till their brains being beaten out they dy'd.

I ſignified before how the Lieu^t^. himſelf within few weeks after the *Earl's* death was diſgracefully thruſt out of his office and put priſoner in the *Tower*. And now I may add that Sir *Thomas Hennage* one of his chiefeſt enimies (the Earl of *Leiceſter* and *Walſingam* being dead before, and both of them moſt miſerably) died in a fearfull manner with great horror and noiſe within four dayes after his moſt happy departure. M^r^ *Bennet* the Prieſt one of thoſe who had accuſed him, fell not long after into a grievous diſeaſe whereof he alſo died miſerably with great remorſe and grief for what he had done. And Sir *Thomas Gerard* who was the other, never proſpered after that time, but ſold and waſted a great

a great part of his eſtate, lived a lewd licentious life, fell from the profeſſion of the Catholick Faith, and ſo continued till about a year before his death. 1595.

CHAP. XIX.

CHAPTER XIX.

A Description of his Person, and Natural Gifts.

1557-95. The *Earl* was tall of ſtature, yet ever very ſtreight, long viſaged, but of a comely countenance. He was much addicted unto ſports and mirth in his youth as being of a pleaſant diſpoſition. His memory was excellent, his wit more than ordinary. He was naturally eloquent, and of a ready ſpeech. Whilſt he was a Proteſtant, he once out of merriment diſguiſed himſelf in the habit of a Miniſter of the better ſort, and going upon a Sunday to the church of a certain country town there preached in ſuch manner, that ſome of good underſtanding

ſtanding and judgment who were preſent affirmed they ſeldom had heard a better Sermon nor ſo well delivered. And this may be an argument of the greatneſs of his memory, that if he had but once heared out of any Engliſh, Latin, or Italian hiſtory ſo much read as was contained in a leaf, he would forthwith perfectly have repeated it. Some for a trial have invented twenty long ſtrange and difficult words, which he had never ſeen nor heared before, yet did he recite them readily, every one in the ſame order as they were written, haveing once only read them over. Going one day from the Cathedral Church of *St Paul* in *London* to his own houſe without *Temple Bar*, he obſerved the ſigns of all the houſes that were on the left ſide of the ſtreet, which are ſome hundreds queſtionleſs, and being come into his houſe he cauſed one of his ſervants to write them down in a paper as he named them and another being ſent with the paper to try thereby if the ſigns of the houſes did agree both in name number, and 1557-95.

1557-95. and order with thoſe written in the paper, found them exactly ſo to do.

Being at the Seſſions held at *Chicheſter* whilſt he was a Proteſtant, and in authority in y^e^ Country, he made a very wiſe and ordered Speech of an hour long concerning ſome then preſent affairs of the Kingdome in the preſence of the Earl of *Northumberland* the Lord Viſcount *Montague*, and many principal Knights and Gentlemen of the Shire. The day following he took his journey towards *London*, and neither in his journey, nor for the ſpace of ten dayes after did he make any mention of that Speech, nor indeed ſcarce had time ſo much as to think of it, being hindered by many other buſineſſes then occurring, and at the end of thoſe ten dayes he called his Secretary M^r^ *Keeper* who was preſent when he pronounced it (from whoſe relation I came to have notice of it) and comanding him to write, he dictated the chief and greateſt part of the ſaid Speech in the ſame words and ſentences, as he had recited it at *Chicheſter*,

cheſter, never haveing before that hour written one word thereof, but only as he firſt conceived it in his mind, had till then conſerved it in his memory. 1557–95.

Much might be ſaid of the acuteneſs of his wit ſhewed by the ready anſwers which in occaſions upon the ſuddain he would make. But I will content my ſelf with one which he made to a forward Proteſtant at his being in the *Tower*, as it was related by the abovenamed M^r^ *Keeper* who well might be, and as I take it, was an ear witneſs thereof. That Proteſtant ſtanding by the *Earl* whilſt in time of his recreation he was engraving with his knife y^e^ ſign of the Holy Croſs in a ſtone of the wall of his chamber, and ſeeing him to have hurt his hand a little by the accidental ſliping of the knife, ſaid thus: Your Lordſhip by this may ſee, how ſoon the *Lord* doth hinder this unlawfull work you were in hand withall. Nay rather, anſwer'd the *Earl*, you may mark how quickly the *devil* hath apply'd himſelf to fruſtrate ſo good an action. The Proteſtant haveing nothing to reply, the *Earl*

1557-95. went on with his pious work, and entered into other good diſcourſe. And the ſame, occaſion being offered to ſpeak of Noblemen, he ſaid they were called in *Latin Optimates ab Optimo*, to put them in mind, that in their lives and converſation they ſhould as well endeavour to be the *beſt*, as they are in place and rank the chief and principal perſons in the Commonwealth. Mention moreover being made of worldly goods, he ſaid they were in his conceit like unto duſt, as being carry'd with every wind of fortune, now this, now that way from one man to another, or rather like unto ſhadows, which do not long remain in one ſettled place and form, nor can be conſerved from fading, and ſoon vaniſhing away.

CHAPTER XX.

Some of his Moral Vertues.

The natural gifts of Wit and Memory mentioned in the precedent Chapter, though they were extraordinary; yet neither ſo commendable, nor to be compared to the many vertues wherewith he was endow'd. And firſt: He was ſo addicted to almeſdeeds and compaſſion of the poor, even before his being Catholick that he not only gave charge always when he went abroad to ſome one or other of his ſervants to give unto all thoſe who did demand almes of him, but himſelf alſo would ſometimes beſtow it on ſome who did not aſk it, whereby it often came to 1557-95.

1557-95. to paſs that when knowledge beforehand was had of his going forth, his coach could ſcarce paſs through the ſtreet for the multitude of poor people aſſembled to receive his charity. Out of this his pious diſpoſition and commiſeration of thoſe who were in miſery, it proceeded that he could not diſſemble any Injury done to them, but would reprehend or admoniſh thereof thoſe he could conveniently when he ſaw them at any time to have offended therein, as he did to a certain Gentleman at *Chicheſter* in this manner. Verily you have too much forgot your ſelf, good Sir, in abuſing ſuch a poor man in the manner you have done it. Far better had it been you had conſidered that before *God* there is no difference betwixt the poor and rich, betwixt the beggar and the gentleman, all of us are of the ſame nature made of the ſame mold, enjoying the ſame air. Thoſe therefore who are of better birth, or higher in degree ought not to contemn others, much leſs inſult over 'em, but rather help and pleaſure them.

His

His gratitude likewiſe towards all who had ever done him any kind office, good deed, or courteſie was very remarkable. For even to his own ſervants tho' of the meaner ſort, he would not only by wordes thankfully acknowledg any ſuch good turn, but ever bear it in his mind till one way or other he had requited it. And not long before his death he left order how all of them who had done him any ſervice ſhould be abundantly rewarded; ſome with preſent money, ſome with leaſes, ſome with annuities, and very ſufficient proviſion during their lives.—I have ſeen diverſe of his Letters to the *L^d Chancellor*, *Treaſurer* and others who ſometimes did good offices for him to the *Queen* in the time of his troubles, in which he ever ſhewed as much thankfullneſs as might be expreſſed, and not only to them, but in other Letters to his Lady and other private Friends, he ſtill did y^e ſame whenſoever there was any occaſion to mention the courteſies which Noble men had done him. 1557-95.

But yet none ſo much, as thoſe from whom

1557-95. whom he had received any comfort, counſel, or direction tending to the good of his ſoul; as among others to Fr *Robert Southwell*, the which he expreſſed in this manner in one amongſt diverſe other Letters written to that effect. My Dear and Rd Father. This being the laſt time that I think I ſhall ever ſend unto you, I ſhould be very ungratefull if, wanting all other means of expreſſing my thankfullneſs I ſhou'd not now at leaſt acknowledg it in words; and as I muſt needs ſay, I could not be more bound to any man, nor to any but one of your calling ſo much; and all this in a time when ſuch comforts were moſt wellcome, and even to the benefit of that which in all men is moſt pretious: ſo in heart, our *Lord* who ſees all ſecrets, ſees my good will and thankfullneſs, and I doubt not will reward you amongſt all your other worthy merits, for theſe beſtowed on me his moſt unworthy ſervant; and in as much thankfullneſs and good will as my heart can conceive, I remain yours till the laſt moment. And that this was not out

out of complement, but real and unfeined, appeared by the love and reſpect he always did bear him: for when the ſaid Father after ſome years was apprehended and impriſoned in the *Tower*, whenſoever the Lieut. made any mention of him in his preſence, as oftentimes he did, he uſed ever to ſpeak with great reſpect of him, calling him often, *Bleſſed Father*. And when once the Lieutenant ſeemed to take exceptions thereat ſaying: Term you him *Bleſſed Father* being as he is an enimy to his country? the *Earl* defended him, ſaying: How can that be, ſeeing your ſelf hath told me heretofore that no fault could be laid unto him, but his Religion. And the Lieut. telling him at another time, that his (the *Earl's*) dog came into Father *Southwell's* chamber whilſt he was there with him, he anſwered that he loved his dog the better for it, and the Lieutenant in a ſcoffing manner ſaying it might be the dog came thither to have his bleſſing; the *Earl* reply'd, it was no news for irrational creatures to ſeek bleſſing at the hands of holy 1557-95.

1557-95. holy men, Saint *Jerome* writing how thoſe Lions which had digged with their paws S^t. *Paul* the Eremit's grave ſtood after waiting with their eyes upon S *Antony* expecting his bleſſing.

The like gratefull mind and great affection he alſo ever bore and alwayes ſhew'd unto F^r *William Weſton* by whom he was firſt reconciled, and for his ſake unto the wholl Society; for thus he writ in a Letter to one of them. I call *God* to witneſs I have, and do principally in my heart moſt affect, reverence, and honour your vocation above others, for that I have ſeen, hear'd, and read, as alſo in reſpect that from one of that calling I received the greateſt good which ever I taſted.

The great humility of his mind appeared alſo many wayes, as in his apparel which ever after his becomeing Catholick was alwayes very plain. His gowns which I have ſeen being no better than ordinary broad cloth, the faceing and capes of bayes without any manner of lace or other ornament, and the reſt of his

his apparell was proportionable to his gowns. Secondly in his words and converſation, being very courteous and affable even to the meaneſt, and in point of vertue preferring all others before himſelf. From whence it proceeded that in many occaſions he term'd himſelf the unworthyeſt of *God's* ſervants. Thirdly in his willingneſs to be adviſed of his faults, overſights and imperfections: for thus I find him ſaying in one of his Letters to Fr *Southwell.* What fault ſoever you ſhall upon your own knowledg find to be in me, and tell me of, I will alwayes endeavour and deſire to amend. And this he really ever performed as I have perceived by diverſe of his Letters to his Lady and others wherein he gave order for the amending of ſome things whereof he had been adviſed by the ſaid Father, whoſe directions he had reſolved ſo exactly to obſerve, that in a matter which did no leſs concern him than his life, he thus writ unto his Lady: Aſſure him from me, (ſayes he ſpeaking of Fr *Southwell*) that I will not for any worldly reſpect 1557-95.

1557–95. reſpect whatſoever, *God* willing, go one inch farther than he doth direct. Laſtly the like humility he ſhew'd in the ſmal conceit he had of his own writings and all other things which he did: for how well ſoever they were done in the judgment of others, yet did he think them full of imperfections and faults; as thoſe treatiſes which he compiled in the praiſe of vertue, were judged by him to contain great faults and groſs errors, in w^ch reſpect he willed his Secretary M^r *Keeper* to deliver them to F^r *Weſton* to be corrected. I pray you, ſayes he, if it pleaſe *God* to call me, make this humble petition for me to that *Bleſſed Father* to whoſe will you ſhall commit that work, that as Charity covereth many faults, ſo my charitable intent therein to do good to all, and not willingly offend any, may obtain a pardon for all my groſs faults, and abſurd errors.

CHAPTER XXI.

The Care of his Conſcience, and Sorrow for his Sins.

I have already ſpoken of his Devotion and much application unto Prayer: and therefore will now only add that the very firſt time he had an opportunity of writing to his Lady after his Impriſonment, he ſent for the Office of the B^d^ Virgin and a Book treating of the Roſary to the end he might the better underſtand how to ſay it for the beſt benefit of his ſoul, and ever after ſuch things as were tending to Piety were alwayes moſt wellcome unto him; his only care being about the ſerving of *Almighty* 1557–95.

1557-95. *Almighty God*, and the conſerving his conſcience free from any thing that might trouble it. To that end he gave order to his officers, that not only his own and his Fathers debts ſhould be forthwith pay'd, but that alſo all wrongs done to any either in his own, his Fathers or Great Grandfathers dayes, ſhould be compleatly ſatisfied.

I might here ſet down many examples of the tenderneſs of his Conſcience, and fear to do any thing that might be offenſive unto *God;* but I will content my ſelf with theſe few following. The *Duke* his Father ſent him an *Engliſh* Bible of the Proteſtants tranſlation not long before his death; the which for that reaſon he kept very carefully till he became Catholick. This Bible I know not by what means was brought into the *Tower;* wherein becauſe his Keepers and the Lieutenant's men did ſometimes read, he was ſo troubled at it (tho' he knew right well if that had not been there they would have procured ſome other) that he reſolv'd to have written to the *L^d.* *Chancellor*

Chancellor for a warrant (without which it could not be done) to have it ſent away, and infallibly he would have ſo done, had it not before by accident come into his hands, and ſo was kept ever ſafe from doing hurt to any. The Gentleman who was his Keeper told him ſoon after his Condemnation, that he intended, in ſpeaking to ſome Lords about him, to ſay, that tho' now expecting to die, he found him very reſolute in his Religion, yet he hoped ſome good might be done with him if there were any aſſurance of his life. Not doubting, as he ſaid, but ſuch kind of ſpeeches, tho' utter'd only as his own opinion might be a means for the ſaving of his (the *Earl's*) life. To which he anſwered in this manner. You know I never gave you the leaſt hope of any ſuch thing: and I would have you know moſt aſſuredly, that tho' I live I will never alter one jot of my faith. Yet as for ſaying ſo out of your own opinion, I leave it to your ſelf, if you think it may do me any good. Of theſe laſt words he was very fearfull afterwardes 1557-95.

1557-95. afterwardes leſt they might be ſome way ſcandalous, and therefore writ to his Lady to conſult with ſome men of learning about them, aſſureing her if they ſhould be ſo thought he would expreſſly forbid his Keeper to ſpeak in that manner. In his examinations, and at his Trial at *Weſtminſter* before the Lords his Peers he ever conſtantly denied that he either willed Mr *Bennet* the Prieſt to ſay a Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt for ye ſucceſs of the *Spaniſh* Fleet, or that he told either Sir *Thomas Gerard* or Mr *Shelley* that the prayer of 24 hours ſhould be for that intention, and in his private Letters to his Lady, he often did the ſame, adding withall, as ſhe told me, that he was ſo newly made a Catholick before his Impriſonment, that he knew not that there was any ſuch Maſs as of the Holy Ghoſt. Yet after his Condemnation writing to Father *Southwell* (tho' therein he doth proteſt he could not remember that ever he had ſaid any ſuch thing to Mr *Shelly*, or that he ever mention'd a Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt to Mr *Bennet*)

Mr *Bennet*) he desired to know whether it were any burden or no in conscience unto him to have so resolutly denied those things, seing on the one side they upon their oaths had testified that he did them, and on the other he knew really he had wished well to the *Spaniards* in his speeches, tho' he could not call to mind he had done that of which he was by them accused. And of this he desired to be resolved, as he said, out of a fear of doing wrong to his accusers, being ready at his Execution, which he then expected every day, to charge himself with the most, lest they might be thought by many to have altogether untruly accused him. Entreating Father *Southwell* moreover to signifie as much unto his Wife and other Friends, lest they might remain wth the same evill opinion of his accusers, in case he judged him in conscience bound thereto, now that he had truely manifested unto him as much as possibly he could say in their behalf against himself. 1557-95.

Now how great his sorrow and repentance

1557-95. ance was for his ſins committed againſt *Alm. God*, may be conjectured by what he manifeſted in diverſe of his Letters to have had of the neglect, and ill uſage of his Lady in his younger years, whilſt he was a Proteſtant. In one to herſelf thus he writ. Mine own good Wife. I muſt now in this world take my laſt farewell of you, and as I know no perſon living whom I have ſo much offended as your ſelf, ſo do I account this oportunity of aſking you forgiveneſs, as a ſingular benefit of *Almighty God*, and I moſt humbly and hartily beſeech you even for His ſake, and of your charity to forgive me all whereinſoever I have offended you, and the aſſurance thereof is a great contentment to my ſoul at this preſent, and will be a greater I doubt not when it is ready to depart out of my body, and I call *God* to witneſs it is no ſmal grief unto me that I cañot make you recompence in this world for the wrongs I have done you; for if it had pleaſed *God* to have granted me longer life, I doubt not but you ſhould have found me as

as good a Huſband to my poor ability by His grace, as you have found me bad heretofore. In one to Fr *Southwell* ſpeaking covertly of her he ſayes, I call our *Lord* to witneſs that as no ſin grieves me any thing ſo much as my offences to that party (his Lady) ſo no worldly thing makes me loather to depart hence than that I cannot live to make that party ſatisfaction according to my moſt ardent and affectionate deſire. *Affliction dat intellectum*, Affliction gives underſtanding. *God* I hope of His infinit mercy who knows my heart, and has ſeen my true ſorrow in that behalf has remitted all I doubt not, and ſo has the party of her ſingular charity to my unſpeakable comfort. To another Friend thus: I pray you tell my Wife, that if I live, next to the comfort that I ſhall reap thereby of having opportunity to make ſatisfaction by pennance for my heinous and manifold ſins againſt *Almighty God;* my greateſt joy is that thereby I ſhall ſhew her what a great deſire I have (if I had been able) to have made amends 1557-95.

1557–95. in ſome part for the many and great injuries which I have done her. Finally in another to her ſelf: He that knows all things, knows that which is paſt is a nail in my conſcience, and burden the greateſt I feel there: my will is to make ſatisfaction, if my ability were able: but tho' I ſhould live never ſo long, I could never do it further than by a good deſire to do it, which while I have any ſpark of breath ſhall never be wanting.

CHAPTER XXII.

His Constancy in the Catholick Faith.

Altho' his conſtancy in the Catholick Religion was manifeſt to the world, and hath been already ſufficiently declared, yet it will not be amiſs out of his own Letters here to inſert ſome clauſes whereby the ſame may more clearly appear. And firſt, thus he writ in one to Fr *Southwell* ſoon after his Condemnation. It is my dayly Prayer I call our *Lord* to witneſs, that I may continue conſtant in the profeſſion of His Catholick Faith to the end, and in the end, come life or death or whatſoever els. And He knows, who 1557–95.

1557–95. who knows the ſecrets of all hearts, that I am fully reſolved to endure any death, rather than willingly yield to any thing offenſive to His Divine Majeſty in the leaſt reſpect, or to give juſt cauſe of ſcandal to the meaneſt Catholick. And in another not long after to the ſame Father. Aſſure your ſelf I will never to ſave my life accuſe myſelf unjuſtly or belie myſelf and ſo have told my Keeper more than once, and *God* who knows the ſecrets of all hearts, knows that I am ready to endure any death than deny, or ſtagger in the leaſt point of my faith.

The like he ſignified in many other Letters written about that time both to the ſame Father and to his Lady. And in one to M^r^ *Keeper* ſome years after, and not long before his own and F^r^ *South-well's* death who then was in the *Tower* thus he ſaith. For which Religion my ſelf have allready laid down my life, and am at all times ready to leave it when-ſoever in that quarrell it ſhall be demanded if all the lives of the men in the world

world were included in my neck, and this *God* knows to be true. 1557-95.

About a year or a little more after his committment to the *Tower*, one Mr *Mac-Williams* who had the keeping of him for a time, at his departure told him that if he would but ſhew ſo much conformity as to read Books, both he and others thought it would draw him out of the *Tower;* whereupon giving notice of it to his Lady he writ in theſe words: I know it is not unlawfull if a man have leave, and I am ſure by the grace of *God* that none of their falſe Books ſhall make me as much as once to ſtagger in my faith. Wherefore I pray let ſome zealous, learned and diſcreet man be talked withall, and ſue for leave for me at his hands if he ſhall think it lawfull, and that I may do it without any ſcandal in the world to the Church; otherwiſe I would rather chooſe to lie here all the dayes of my life, than by any act for my liberty offend or ſcandalize the ſmaleſt member of the Catholick Church.

Another of his Keepers after his Condemnation

1557–95. demnation told him firſt that the *Ld Treaſurer* did much deſire he would admit ſome Miniſter to come unto him and hear what he could ſay about Religion. But he in no caſe would yield thereunto, tho' otherwiſe he were very deſirous to gratify that Nobleman whom he ever eſteemed as a ſpecial friend, becauſe he thought the doing thereof would argue in him a wavering or doubtfullneſs which in matter of Religion, as he ſaid, is as much as a deniall of it. Afterwards he ſignify'd unto him, if he would at leaſt ſeem to deſire that a Prieſt and Miniſter might be brought jointly both before him to hear them two diſpute together, that y^e *Queen* would receive much ſatisfaction therewith, and perhaps be moved to do much good unto him. He anſwer'd that he would not have any ſuch motion made as proceeding from him leſt it might ſeem to argue ſome doubt of his faith; and that he would never ſo admit of any ſuch thing as the *Queen* or any other might have any cauſe of hope, that he would ever alter his Religion wherein

wherein by the grace of *God* he was moſt reſolute. And laſtly, if he ever did admitt thereof it ſhould be firſt upon the *Queen's* expreſs command, and next with this proteſtation that he did it only to ſatisfie her, thinking the thing to be lawfull, and not doubting, but being moſt reſolute in every point and tittle of his faith. And he thought it lawfull in regard, as he ſignify'd to Fr *Southwell*, he remember'd that Fr *Weſton* had once told him he might admitt of a Miniſter offered or urged upon him, ſo that he had a Prieſt allow'd who could anſwer and detect his untruths. Adding withall that peradventure ſuch a diſputation might by the grace of *God* work ſome unexpected good towards ſome who were moſt forward to procure it, if they were not too far given over. 1557-95.

CHAP. XXIII.

CHAPTER XXIII.

His Chearfullness in Suffering, and Confidence in God.

1557-95. Much might be ſaid of his willingneſs and contentment in ſuffering and endureing ſuch croſſes and afflictions as befell him during his long Impriſonment: but I will ſatisfy my ſelf with only ſetting down his own words taken out of ſome of his Letters, which I have ſeen. Firſt therefore in one to Fr *Southwell* thus he ſayes. For all Croſſes touching worldly matters, I thank *God* they trouble me not much, and much the leſs for your ſingular good Counſel, which I beſeech our *Lord* I may often remember.

remember. In another about ſome vile ſlanders raiſed of him which I have already mentioned in the Eleventh Chapter, theſe be his words. I aſſure you I thank our *Lord* theſe ſlanders trouble me no whit, but rather yield me comfort conſidering that I ſuſtain them for His Name. 1557-95.

In one to his Lady a little before his laſt troubles he writes thus. I beſeech you for the love of *God* to comfort yourſelf whatſoever ſhall happen, and to be beſt pleaſed with that, which ſhall pleaſe *God* beſt and be His will to ſend. For mine own part I find by more arguments than thoſe I underſtand from you that there is ſome intent (as they think who work it) to do me no good, but indeed to do me the moſt good of all: but I am I thank *God*, and doubt not but I ſhall be by his grace ready to endure the worſt which fleſh and blood can do againſt me. And ſo indeed he declared himſelf really to be by the courage, chearfullneſs and alacrity which he ſhewed at the time of his arraignment, and in all occaſions when

1557-95. when his adverſaries were moſt violent againſt him. For, ſuch and ſo great it was, that the Gentleman who then was his keeper, told him many thereby judg'd him as deſperate, and ſome of his friends wondered he would ſpeak ſo roundly to thoſe who were his examiners in the *Tower* about the buſineſs whereof he was afterwards arraigned, telling one of them, as I ſaid before, that he cared not for the worſt he could do againſt him: and to another, who threatened him with hanging, That the ſooner the better if it pleaſ'd *God* it ſhould be ſo. The which he did, as he ſignified to Fr *Southwell*, to ſhew that he regarded not their threats: not out of any anger, ſayes he, or malice towards them, but to let them know my conſcience being clear, and my cauſe good, that I cared not for the worſt they could do againſt me.

That which chiefly cauſed this courage and chearfullneſs in him, was the great confidence he had in the mercy and goodneſs of *Almighty God*, that He would ever help and aſſiſt him in all occaſions: for ſo

ſo he writ to a Friend whom he certified of his readineſs and chearfullneſs to enter into the laſt combat at that time when he look'd every day to be carry'd to execution. I aſſure you I prepare myſelf as much as my weakneſs and frailty will permitt, and I had rather perform more, than come ſhort of that I promiſe, eſpecially wherein my frailty and unworthineſs and infinit ſins may juſtly make me doubt of the performance. But I know *God's* mercy is above all and I am ſure He will never ſuffer me to be tempted above my ſtrength; and upon this I build with all aſſurance and comfort. And in another to his Lady I beſeech you, take all as well as you may, aſſuring your ſelf *God* doth all for the beſt to thoſe y^t^ love Him, and ſuffers none to be tempted above their ſtrength, and upon theſe two I have caſt my anchor of hope. 1557–95.

CHAP. XXIV.

CHAPTER XXIV.

His Charity and Good Desires.

1557-95. How great his Charity was towards *God* and his neighbor may appear as well by his deſire of doing and ſuffering for *God's* ſake, as by his willingneſs to pardon and forgive all injuries received from any man. In a Letter to a Friend of his wherein he complain'd that Sir *Thomas Gerard* had done both moſt uncharitably and unjuſtly in accuſing him of diverſe things, he therein did proteſt, that freely and from his heart he did forgive him all. The like he did to M^r^ *Bennet* and all thoſe who had wrongfully given teſtimony againſt him. As alſo to thoſe who

who had raiſed moſt vile ſlanders againſt him, as that he was of no religion and the like. 1557-95.

Not long before his death when he was ſo weak and feeble that he was ſcarce able without help to walk from one end of his chamber to the other, pointing with his finger towards the *Tower Hill*, he told his ſervants who then ſupported him; that had it been *God's* will, he deſired much more to have died for his faith upon that hill, than in his bed and chamber, as now it ſeemed likely he ſhould do: and that tho' he had often conſulted the Phiſicians in the time of his ſickneſs, it was not ſo much out of any great deſire of living long, as ſome perhaps might think, as to conſerve himſelf untill he ſhould ſee if it were *God's* holy pleaſure that he ſhould die publickly for his Religion. To the which he prepar'd himſelf a long time with great diligence by faſting, prayer, meditation, and diverſe other pious exerciſes wherein yet he far leſs confided (ſuch was his vertue and humility) than in the prayers and good endeavors

1557-95. vors of others for him. In which reſpect he both oft and earneſtly beg'd them, and in particular in one Letter to Fr *Southwell* after this manner. I beſeech you for the love of *God*, procure me to be remember'd in the morning of my Execution in as many ways as you can by that meane which you know moſt effectual to do me good, and by one of them (that is a Maſs) at the hour of my laſt conflict as near as may be conjectured.

Concerning his good deſires and purpoſes, if *God* had given him life to ſee better times, than thoſe in which he lived, tho' I doubt not they were many more than I have had notice of, yet theſe three following I find expreſſed in ſome Letters which he writ to his Lady from the *Tower*. Firſt that he meant to have made two of his principal houſes religious places, and reſtored all the religious lands in his poſſeſſion; for thus he ſaid. I pray you let my Son know when he comes to any years of diſcretion, that I was fully reſolved to make *Howard-houſe*

houſe and *Norwich-houſe* religious houſes, and to reſtore all religious lands (if I had lived to ſee a Catholick time) and deſire him for the love of *God* and on my bleſsing to do the like (for ſo *God* will proſper him) except he ſhall be otherwiſe adviſed by ſuch as I ſubmitt my ſelf to their judgment. Secondly he intended of new to have founded a Chantry, whereof he writ in theſe words. I have appointed 2500ll. for the building of a Chantry, which I wiſh my Son to do, if ever he be able, or thoſe that have dealing in my lands before he come of age, if the time ſerve, and the lands be reſtored. Laſtly he was reſolved in caſe he outlived his Lady to have left the world, and become Religious, for thus he ſayes. I call *God* to witneſs that if it were not in reſpect of you (albeit I lived) every body ſhould well ſee, if I were not utterly kept from it againſt my will, that I eſteem as little of the world, as ſhe by her uſage has ſeemed to eſteem of me, and that I deſpiſed her as much as ſhe did me. And a little after. If you ſhould not do well, I would, 1557-95.

1557-95. I would, if the *Queen* took me not away by a violent death, voluntarily ſequeſter my ſelf from this ſea of miſery, or els want of my will.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE GREAT GOOD ESTIMATION OTHERS HAD OF HIM

THE Vertues of the *Earl* whereof hitherto I have ſpoken together with many more not mentioned by me, were ſo excellent, and ſhined in ſuch manner, that not only the Catholicks of this kingdome and nation; but of many others were much edified thereby, and for them did highly eſteem, love and honour him. And ſo great was the reſpect and affection which all generally here in *England* did bear him that one of good rank amongſt them told one of thoſe Gentlemen who had the cuſtody of him, y^t^ he 1557–95.

1557-95. had wonne all the Catholicks' hearts of y^e^ kingdome by the good uſage he had ſhewn to the *Earl* his priſoner. And in other nations ſome of great learning, and ſome both of learning and dignity have left large Encomiums written in his praiſe, as the Moſt Reverend *Diego de Yepes* Biſhop of *Taracona* in *Spain*, and ſome others in *France* and *Italy* which I will not now ſtand to relate, contenting my ſelf with that which I find written by the Reverend Father *Cornelius a Lapide* of the *Flemiſh* nation a Learned Religious of the Society of *Jeſus* in his Commentaries upon the 10^th^ Chapter of the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, upon thoſe words of the 34 verſe. *Rapinam bonorum veſtrorum in gaudio ſuſcepiſtis.* where he ſpeaks of him in this manner.

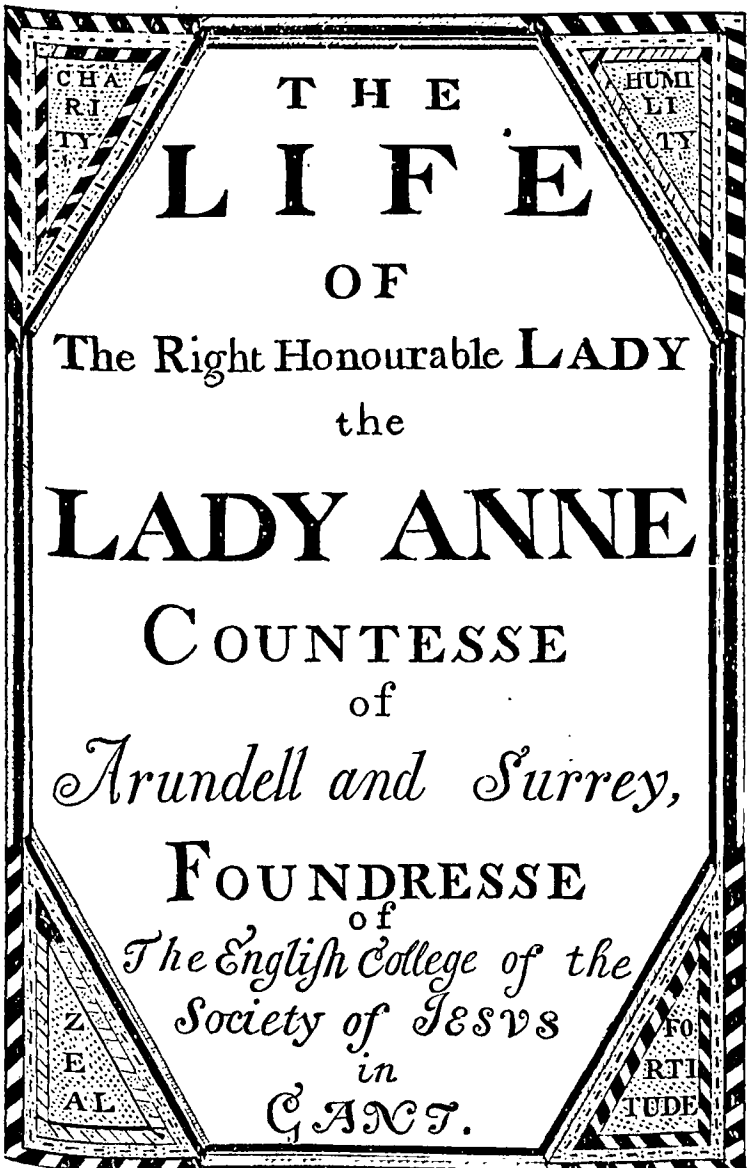
The Moſt Noble Earl of *Arundel Philipp Howard* ſon and heir of the Duke of *Norfolk*, being taken when he was flying into *France* for the Catholick Religion, was caſt into the *Tower* of *London*, and afterwards arraigned and condemned and after ten years and a half

half impriſonment or there about, he died in durance a glorious Confeſſor, yea a Martyr. He was the chief Earl of *England*, and of a moſt Noble Family: and wonderfull it is how much he loſt, and with what quietneſs of mind he endured all adverſities. Whilſt he was priſoner he was not only of example, but a ſingular comfort to all Catholicks. No one ever hear'd him complain either of the loſs of his goods, or of the incommodities of the priſon, or the being bereaved of his liberty: and ſuch as he heared complaine or underſtood to be aggrieved, he endeavoured by his words and courteous uſage to comfort, ſtrengthen, and confirm. His delight was in nothing but in *God*, and the contemplation of heavenly things. Much of the money which the *Queen* did allow him for his maintenance (for to every priſoner in the *Tower* ſomething is aſſigned, more or leſs according to each man's degree) he gave unto the poor, contenting himſelf with a ſpare and ſlender diet. Many other things this moſt Noble *Earl* ſaid, did, 1557-95.

1557-95. did, and ſuffered, which equaliſe, if not exceed the deeds of the ancient worthies of the Primitive Church and therefore are moſt worthy to be eternized.

That which this Author ſaith of the *Earl* that he was a glorious Confeſſor of the Catholick Faith, yea a Martyr, is the general perſwaſion of all learned Catholick men, both of our own and other nations. As ſuch therefore we all ought to eſteem him, and may with juſt reaſon commend our ſelves to his holy Prayers and Interceſſion, that thereby we may obtain ſo much grace of *Almighty God*, that here we may imitate his excellent vertues, and in heaven enjoy his happy company for all eternity. Amen.

FINIS.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CHAPTER I.

HER BIRTH, PARENTAGE, AND EDUCATION.

THE Noble, and Vertuouſe Lady *Anne*, late Counteſſe of *Arundell and Surrey*, was born upon the laſt day of *March* in 1557, at the Citty of *Carlile* in *Cumberland*. Her Father was *Thomas* Lord *Dacres* of the North, a perſon of great Eſtate, Power, and Authority in thoſe parts (as poſſeſſing no leſs than nine Baronies) and one of the moſt ancient for Nobility in the whole Kingdome. Her Mother was *Elizabeth Labourn*, Daughter of Sir *James Labourn* a Knight much eſteem'd and honour'd in *Lancaſhire*. For her Beauty, Perſon, Wit, and Diſcretion, ſhe was qualify'd to wear a Crown. 1557.

Not

1557. Not long after her birth, the care of her breeding and education was committed to her Grand-Mother by the Mother's ſide the Lady *Mount-Eagle* a grave, diſcreet, and vertuouſe Matron, who, as being a religious good Catholick; firſt procured to have her confirm'd by that worthy Prelate, and renown'd Confeſſor Doctor *Cuthbert Tonſtal* Biſhop of *Durham*, and in due time to be taught to read, and inſtructed in the firſt principles of Chriſtian Religion, by an ancient Catholic Prieſt ſhe then kept in her houſe.

This Lady *Mounteagle* was Daughter of one Mr. *Preſton* a Gentleman of note in *Lancaſhire*, and was marry'd firſt to Sir *James Labourn*, by whome ſhe had two Daughters; *Anne* marry'd to the Lord *Mounteagle*, her ſecond huſband's eldeſt Son, and *Elizabeth* firſt marry'd to the Lord *Dacres* above mention'd, and after to *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*. Both theſe her Daughters knowing the great prudence and care ſhe had uſed in the education of themſelves, prevail'd with

with her to undertake the education alſo of their Daughters, which ſhe perform'd with ſuch diligence and diſcretion, that tho' they were but young when ſhe dy'd, yet they receiv'd ſo much good from that ſhort education, that they enjoy'd great advantages by it all their life time. 1557.

She carry'd a ſtrict hand over them, not permitting ſuch liberties as many do to the ruin of their children. She reprehended them ſharply for their faults, and chaſtiſ'd with her own hands, by which means they came not only to know what was evil, but alſo to have a fear and horror to do it. But above all ſhe took ſpecial care to inſtill Vertue and Piety into 'em, habituating them beſide ſaying their prayers, in beſtowing Almes with their own hands to priſoners and poor people, together with many other good deeds. And indeed ſuch were the good ſeeds ſow'd in her Grandchild *Anne*, (who even to her dying day retain'd a gratefull memory of her, and wou'd often make mention of y^e^ rare endowments ſhe obſerv'd in her) that from

1557. from them it may well be thought, divers of the good inclinations and affections which ever after appear'd in her, ow'd their riſe and progreſs.

For firſt, by what was then ingrafted in her ſhe ever retain'd a good opinion of, and affection to the Catholick Religion. Secondly, a propenſion to works of mercy, and a particular application to the cureing of diſeaſes, wounds and the like, wherein her Grandmother did excell. Thirdly a particular affection for the Society of *Jeſus* by hearing her Grandmother rejoice and praiſe *God* for eſtabliſhing a new Religious Order wch bound itſelf by a ſpecial vow of obedience to the *Pope*, whom all Hereticks did then abjure, and oppugn.

Before the promulgation of the Council of *Trent's* declaration concerning the unlawfullneſ of being preſent at the Proteſtant Service, Sermons, and the like here in *England;* the Lady *Monteagle* was accuſtom'd to have Proteſtant Service read to her by a Chaplain in her houſe, and afterwards to hear Maſs ſaid privately

vately by a Prieſt. But, as ſoon as ſhe underſtood the unlawfullneſ of this practice, ſhe wou'd never be preſent at the Proteſtant Service any more. And once urg'd by the Duke of *Norfolk* with whome ſhe liv'd a while before her death, and at whoſe houſe ſhe dy'd, to do ſomething contrary to the Profeſſion of her Faith, tho' ſhe much eſteem'd and reſpected him, yet her anſwer was ſo round and reſolute, that he never mention'd the like any more, but gave her full liberty to have all the aſſiſtance deſir'd before, and at her death. Wherein ſhe was more happy than her Daughter the *Ducheſſe*, who dying not long before her in Childbed, tho' ſhe deſir'd to have been reconciled by a Prieſt, who for that end was conducted into the garden, yet could not have acceſs unto her, either by reaſon of the *Duke's* vigilance to hinder it, or at leaſt of his continual preſence in the chamber at that time. 1557.

CHAP. II.

CHAPTER II.

HER MARRIAGE, AND THE MEANS USED TO PERVERT HER JUDGEMENT IN RELIGION.

1566. THE Lord *Dacres* Father to this honourable Lady whoſe life I write, left behind him when he dyed two other Daughters beſides her ſelf, and one Son: the Son was nam'd *Francis*, and the other Daughters, *Mary* and *Eliſabeth*. They were all then very young, the Lady *Anne* who was the eldeſt being but nine years of age or thereabouts; and by reaſon of their Mother's marrying with the Duke of *Norfolk*, they all came into his cuſtody. The Son, by Queen *Eliza-*

beth's

beth's grant, was his Ward whom he intended to have married to his only Daughter the Lady *Margaret*, and that being fruſtrated by the untimely death of the Child, who about eight years old was accidentally ſlain by the fall of a vaulting Horſe upon him at the *Duke's* houſe at *Thetford*, he obtain'd the wardſhip alſo of the Daughters whom he intended to have match'd with his three Sons, as in effect two of them were ſome years after; *Anne* the eldeſt to *Philip* his eldeſt Son Earl of *Surrey*, and *Elizabeth* the youngeſt to the Lord *William Howard* his youngeſt Son. *Mary* the ſecond Daughter who was deſign'd for the Lord *Thomas Howard* his ſecond Son, dyed before ſhe was marriageable. The *Duke* was ſo deſirous that theſe intended marriages ſhou'd take effect, that he cauſed the Earl of *Surrey* to be contracted to the Lady *Anne* as ſoon as ſhe came to be compleatly twelve years old (age in her ſufficient to aſſent) tho' the *Earl* wanted at that time ſome months of that age. Upon which account they were marry'd again 1569.

1571. again when the *Earl* was full fourteen, neceſſary for him to give ſuch conſent to his marriage as wou'd bind him ever after. But tho' this was don with ſufficient witneſſes, and other requiſit conditions, yet was it carry'd privatly without any noiſe or publick ſolemnity by reaſon the *Duke* at that time was in diſgrace, and in trouble about the buſineſ of the Queen of *Scots*, for wch not long after he loſt his life being beheaded on *Tower Hill* the ſecond of
1572. *June* 1572.

This *Duke* tho' he were a very moral Nobleman, of exceeding good temper and moderate diſpoſition, yet by reaſon of his education under *John Fox* and others deeply infected with Hereſie he was not only perverted in judgment about many points of Religion, but ſeem'd alſo to be ſomething earneſt therein eſpecially towards the end of his dayes. Nor was he content that his own Children and the others in his cuſtody whom he intended to match with them ſhould be brought up Proteſtants and carry'd to Service

Service and Sermons in the publick Churches, but moreover he appointed that ſome of the ableſt Miniſters ſhould be brought into the houſe to inſtruct them and the reſt of his family. And having underſtood that his Daughter of *Surrey* (for the Lady *Anne* was then marry'd to the *Earl* his Son) was Catholickly inclin'd, he dehorted her by letters from it, biding her take heed of Popery, Superſtition, and human traditions. The like endeavour was uſed by the *Duke's* Siſter the Counteſſe of *Weſtmorland* who liv'd in the ſame houſe with her ſeveral years, and was a very zealous Proteſtant. Yet neither of them prevail'd: for tho' ſhe went to Service and Sermons with the reſt, yet could ſhe never be drawn to communicate amongſt them, ever finding ſome means or other to avoid it. 1572.

To retain this affection for Catholick Religion beſides the Education under her Grand Mother the Lady *Mounteagle*, the converſing with ſome of her own kindred did alſo much conduce: and indeed all or moſt of them both by her Father

1572. Father and Mother's ſide either were actually Catholicks or very much that way affected, as ſhe knew alſo her Father, Mother, Grandfathers and Grandmothers of both ſides to have ever been. Her Father's Brethren which were three: *Leonard*, *Edward*, and *Francis* were all Catholicks, the two elder dyed in baniſhment, the third dyed here in *England*. So likewiſe were all his Siſters, and one of them that was married to the Lord Viſcount *Mountague* was ſo notable for her conſtancy therein, and other vertues, that her life has been written, for an example to others, printed alſo and publiſh'd to the world.

Her Mother's only Siſter the Lady *Mounteagle* likewiſe was a Catholick, as alſo moſt of that kindred, and among the reſt Mr. *James Labourn* was ſo reſolute and conſtant therein, that he loſt his life for it, being put to a painfull and ignominious death, hang'd, drawn and quarter'd at *Lancaſter*, as I take it, in the year 1583, and 26t of Queen *Eliſabeth* for denying her Supremacy in Eccleſiaſtical

tical Affaires. Alſo her frequent converſing with the Lord *Henry Howard* Brother to the Duke who in his diſcourſes did alwayes maintain, and defend the Catholick Religion againſt his Siſter of *Weſtmorland* and others did alſo much conduce thereunto: as alſo did her living afterwards withe the Lady *Lumley* Daughto *Henry Fitzallen* Earl of *Arundell*, and Aunt to her Huſband: for ſhe was not only a good Catholick, vertuous and diſcreet, but alſo well learn'd and could ſpeak much in defence of her Religion. 1572.

CHAPTER III.

The Unkind Usage she received from her Husband for a Time.

1572. The Earl of *Surrey* her Huſband ſoon after the *Duke* his Father's death went with his Brothers to the Univerſity of *Cambridge* where he remain'd a little more than two years, during which time, and after his coming, from thence to his going to Court nothing of any diſſatisfaction to the Lady his Wife could be perceiv'd in him: but not long after his arrival there, being carry'd away by evil company with which the Court did then abound, he began at firſt ſomething to neglect her, ſeldome comeing, or ſending any

any to pay her a viſit. And a while entering into vain hopes of obtaining y^e^ *Queen's* ſpecial favour, which could not be had (as was obſerv'd) by ſuch as he, if they ſhew'd any love for their Wives; he not only openly neglected, but in a manner rejected her. For altho' ſhe liv'd in the Cuntrey where his houſe was kept, and when ſhe came to *London* upon any occaſion, lodg'd at *Charterhouſe* which then belong'd to him, yet did he for ſeveral years wholly abſent himſelf from her, and beſide ſome hard meaſure, and diverſe unkindneſſes offer'd during that time, he came at length to utter ſuch words as might inſinuate a doubt in him whether ſhe were his Wife or no. 1575.

This ſort of unkind uſage as it cauſ'd in her much grief and affliction of mind together with no ſmal indiſpoſition of body, ſo it forc'd her at length to go to him, to expoſtulate and mind him of his obligation towards her w^ch^ ſhe perform'd in an humble and dutifull way. The *Earl* tho' he wou'd not deny her to be his Wife, yet ſhew'd but ſmal ſignes that he

1580. he wou'd treat or eſteem her as ſuch. Upon which ſhe plainly perceiving that neither her own, nor her friends endeavours could prevail with him to give her that uſage which was fiting and convenient, reſolv'd for her laſt refuge to have recourſe to his Grandfather the Earl of *Arundell*, who not only receiv'd, entertain'd and kept her in his houſe as long as he liv'd and uſed her with all kindneſs as his own child, but alſo did his beſt endeavour to reclaime the *Earl* her Huſband, and make him perform his obligation towards her, tho' his endeavours prov'd ineffectual.

Not long after the good old *Earl* dyed, and was ſo happy as to be reconciled ſome time before his death to the Catholicke Church and to receive the Holy Sacraments and Rites thereof by the perſwaſion and procurement of the Lord *Lumley* his Son in Law.

The Counteſſe of *Surrey*, now alſo of *Arundell* by her ſaid Grandfather's death, was much afflicted thereat, as being deſtitute of any fitting place to dwell in (for the

the Lady *Lumley* dyed ſome time before the *Earl* her Father) and therefore was forced to return again to her Huſband's houſe in *London*. At which tho' he (being then at *Norfolk* attending to his ſports of hunting and the like) ſeem'd not a little diſpleaſ'd, and for a time continued the ſame hard uſage towards her, yet at length, his favour w^th^ the *Queen* declining every day, he came to his houſe, cohabited with her, and had two children by her, *Thomas* now Earl of *Arundell*, and *Elizabeth* who dyed about fifteen years of age. And after his becomeing Catholick as in other things ſo in the uſage of her he was wholly changed, and alter'd, ſhewing great ſignes of ſorrow for the wrongs and injuries he had done her, and with great humility often aſk'd her pardon for them. 1580.

CHAP. IV.

CHAPTER IV.

The Occasion and Means of her Conversion.

1582-3. I have already ſhew'd how, and by what means ſhe remain'd ever well affected to the Catholick Religion, wherein tho' ſhe increaſ'd dayly more and more, yet ſhe did not reſolve to embrace and profeſs it, till about y^e^ year 1582 or 83, ſhe being betwixt five and ſix and twenty years of age, when by reaſon of a book treating of the Danger of Schiſm, ſhe was ſo efficaciouſly mov'd, that ſhe made a firm purpoſe by the grace of *God* forthwith to become a Member of the Catholick and only true church of *God;* and by the help of

of one Mr *Richard Bayly* a Catholick gentleman who belong'd to the *Earl* her Huſband, ſhe brought it ſoon after to effect. For having found out a grave and ancient man made Prieſt in the Reign of Queen *Mary* of happy memory, he brought him privatly to the Caſtle of *Arundel* where ſhe liv'd at that time. 1582-3.

She deſir'd very much, and took great care that her reconciliation to the Church, and meeting with the Prieſt to that intent might be done with as much privacy, and kept as ſecret as was poſſible, the times begining then to be very troubleſome. And therefore becauſe ſhe had no Catholick women about her at that time, nor others whom ſhe durſt acquaint with the buſineſ, ſhe was forced to go alone at an unſeaſonable time from her own lodgings, by certain dark obſcure wayes and dangerous paſſages to the chamber where the Prieſt was lodged, there to make her Confeſſion, it being thought both by Mr *Bayly* and her ſelf that otherwiſe it could not poſſibly be done without diſcovery, or at leaſt great danger thereof.

And

1582-3. And notwithſtanding all that care and ſecrecy within a month or two ſhe was preſented for a Recuſant by the inhabitants of *Arundell*, and M^r *Bayly* was convented and accuſed before the Biſhop of *Chicheſter* as a Seminary Prieſt; of the which tho' he was eaſily clear'd and acquitted, yet becauſe he would not take the Oath of Supreamacy, he was forced to quit the country and ſoon after to go out of the realm, and live in baniſhment many years even till his death in *Flanders*. The *Counteſſe* did often ſend him relief out of gratitude for his concurrance towards her converſion to the Catholick Faith.

What ſhe moſt fear'd juſt after her Converſion, was the diſpleaſure of the *Earl*, who not long before was reconciled to her, when he ſhou'd come to know of it, for it cou'd not, as ſhe thought, be long conceal'd from him. And this her fear was much increaſ'd by the comeing down from *London* of one of his Chaplains, who affirm'd he was ſent of purpoſe by the *Earl* to read prayers and preach to her and her family; and the next Sunday

day following he came into the great chamber of the Caſtle expecting and deſiring to know her pleaſure therein. Upon which ſhe thought beſt to ſend for him to her chamber; then ſhe deſir'd him not to trouble himſelf nor her in that matter, and told him ſhe would ſatisfie the *Earl* therein. The *Earl* came home within three or four dayes; and to her great joy and no leſs admiration did not ſpeak the leaſt word of the Chaplain's errant. Soon after ſhe was wholly freed from that fear when ſhe underſtood that the Lady *Margaret Sackville* was become Catholick: For ſhe knew the *Earl* had ever ſhewn a particular love for her as being his only Siſter and ſo wou'd not ſeem to be diſpleaſ'd with her change; conſequently could not in reaſon be much offended with her ſelf for being what his Siſter was. But the true reaſon why he neither then nor ever after ſhew'd any diſlike of her being Catholick was becauſe himſelf at y^t^ time was well perſuaded of, and affected to the Catholick Religion, tho' neither ſhe nor any one els knew of it. 1582-3.

CHAP. V.

CHAPTER V.

HER IMPRISONMENT, AND THE MANIFOLD AFFLICTIONS SHE UNDERWENT AFTER HER CONVERSION.

1582-3. HOLY Scripture doth adviſe thoſe who enter into the Service of *Almighty God* to prepare themſelves for temptation. This the *Counteſſe* did deeply imprint in her mind, and comply'd with as ſoon as ſhe took a reſolution to become Catholick. And the times were ſuch that ſhe could not but expect to ſuffer ſomething for that cauſe, tho' perhaps not ſo much as ſhe afterwards endured. For tho' the *Earl* her Huſband ſhew'd no diſlike of her being Catholick, yet the *Queen* did to

to ſuch a degree, that preſently upon notice thereof ſhe order'd her being then with childe to be taken from her own houſe, and carry'd to *Wiſton* in *Suſſex* the dwelling place at that time of Sir *Thomas Shirley* Knight, there to be kept Priſoner till further orders. Here ſhe remain'd Priſoner for the ſpace of a year or more, and ſhe was deliver'd of her Daughter, who by y^e^ *Earl's* appointment was baptiſ'd according to the Proteſtant manner, much againſt her will. 1582-3.

True it is, ſhe was courteouſly uſed by that Knight and his Lady all the time ſhe remain'd with them; yet was ſhe ſo ſtreightly confin'd and watch'd that none could either ſerve her, or have acceſs to her, but ſuch as were approved by him: And ſpecial care was taken that n'one that was ſuſpected for a Prieſt ſhou'd come within ſight of her: which was no ſmal addition to her ſufferings.

The term I mention'd being expir'd ſhe was by the *Queen's* orders ſet at liberty. Which tho' it afforded her ſome comfort for the preſent, yet it was nothing

1583. nothing to the ſorrow ſhe felt upon the reſtraint of her Lord and Huſband, which ſoon after follow'd; for he was commanded by y^e *Queen* for divers months not to ſtir out of his own houſe but to remain therein as Priſoner during which time he was twice or thrice examin'd by ſome of the Council who were known to be his profeſſ'd Enemies. This was the Prelude to the Tragedy w^ch ſome years after follow'd in which he acted the part of a moſt couragiouſe Confeſſor, and dy'd a glorious Martyr. Not long after his Examin he was taken at Sea going to *France*, caſt into the *Tower* of *London*, condemn'd to pay Ten Thouſand Pound, and to remain in priſon during the *Queen's* pleaſure; and not long after follow'd his Attainder, Condemnation to Death, and Forfeiture both of his, and her Eſtate under pretence of certain Crimes moſt wrongfully and unjuſtly laid to his charge.

Theſe were the grounds and main cauſes of her affliction. But it did not end here. Her houſe was ſearch'd by Juſtices

Juſtices and their inhuman officers who left no room, no corner unlook'd into, no trunkes or coffers unopen'd and unranſack'd. She, her friends and ſervants, was often brought before the Council, and moſt ſeverely examin'd. The *Queen's* officers, and others in authority to whom ſhe was ſometimes forced to ſue for favour, or ſome mitigation of her Lord's or her own ſufferings, ſeldom granted any thing of moment, and often uſ'd her very harſhly, and ſometimes rejected her petitions with ſcorn and opprobrious language. But after the *Earl* her Huſband's Condemnation all her Goods were ſeiz'd for the *Queen*; they left her nothing but the Beds on which her ſelf and a few ſervants were to take their reſt, and thoſe only lent her for a time. She endeavour'd to buy her own Coach at the rate it was valued by the prizers of her goods, but could not obtain ſo reaſonable a courteſy; and thus was ſhe when buſines requir'd, forced to go on foot, and ſo ſlenderly attended, (being the Prime *Counteſſe* of the 1583.

1583. the Kingdom, and for Dignity and Degree the next perſon to the *Queen*) that ſhe had but two ſervants to waite upon her. And for a conſiderable time after the ſeizure of all the Lands and Incomes which belong'd either to the *Earl* or herſelf ſhe had no allowance at all from the *Queen* for the maintaince of herſelf, children, and family according to the cuſtom in ſuch caſes. Wherefore ſhe was forced to diſmiſs many of her ſervants, and with the money made of her own Jewells to pay them their wages, and buy victuals for thoſe y^t^ remain'd with her. At length after much ſuite all ſhe could obtain from the *Queen* for all manner of occaſions was only eight pound a week, and that many times ſo ill pay'd that ſhe was often compell'd to borrow and make hard ſhifts to procure neceſſary proviſions.

CHAPTER VI.

The Queen's Hatred towards Her.

That thoſe Officers and men in authority above mention'd uſed ſuch meaſure with this Noble and Vertuous Lady will not ſeem ſtrange, if we reflect that they were either order'd by the *Queen* to do what they did, or at leaſt were emboldened thereto by the hopes of doing her a pleaſure, ſince moſt of them knew what a hatred ſhe bore to the *Counteſſe*; and how deſirouſe ſhe was to croſs and afflict her upon all occaſions. For they ſaw that ſeveral times ſhe did expreſly forbid her to live at, or come to *London*, even only to conſult the Phiſitians about ſome 1583.

1583. ſome infirmities ſhe was ſubject unto. And if at any time after much entreating ſhe granted her leave to live at *Arundell-houſe*, yet when ſhe came upon any occaſion to live at *Somerſet-houſe* near adjoyning, then was the *Counteſſe* warn'd by ſome of the Council to remove from thence during that time, and this was either by the *Queen's* own order, or els becauſe thoſe Counſellors knew too well ſhe could not endure to have the *Counteſſe* near her, tho' for never ſo ſhort a time.

When the *Counteſſe* being great w^th^ childe of her Son liv'd at a hired houſe near *Rumford* in *Eſſex*, the *Queen* having intelligence that the Lady *Margaret Sackvil* (who then was alſo great with child) was gon thither to pay her a viſit, ſent forthwith a meſſenger to that Lady with expreſs command not to ſtay there any more than that night; but the very next morning to depart, the which ſhe promiſ'd the meſſenger to do, and undoubtedly wou'd have perform'd had ſhe not that night unexpectedly fallen in labour,

labour, and thereby hinder'd from executing that rigorous command. And when ſoon after the *Counteſſe* was deliver'd of her Son, and earneſtly deſired that the *Earl* her Huſband (who was then cloſe priſoner in the *Tower*) might be inform'd of it, it wou'd by no means be granted: but after ſome time by other means he was told ſhe was brought to bed of another daughter. One may eaſily gueſs he was thus miſinform'd to increaſe his affliction. The *Queen* ſome time after that, comeing either for pleaſure or curioſity to *Arundell-houſe*, where the *Counteſſe* then lived, but was abſent at that preſent, by the advice of ſome in authority, and eſpying in the glaſs of one of the windows a ſentence written with a diamond inſinuating hopes of future better fortune which ſhe imagin'd, as it ſeems, to have been done by the *Counteſſe*; with her own hand ſhe writ underneath another ſentence expreſſing much paſſion and diſdain. And this in all likelyhood ſhe did on purpoſe to grieve and afflict the poor Lady who ſoon after 1585.

1595. her return thither did ſee them, and eaſily perceiv'd by whom, and for what end they were written.

The *Counteſſe* often made humble petition by means of friends, to the *Queen* (during the *Earl's* impriſonment) for leave to have acceſs to him, eſpecially in ſome times of his ſicknes and infirmity; but, tho' the like favour was granted to the Lady *Latimore* and ſome others whoſe huſbands were at that time priſoners in the *Tower*, yet ſhe could never obtain it. And the *Earl* conceiving that if ſhe went in perſon to preſent her Petition to the *Queen*, it might perhaps be more effectual, anſwer was made him by a Courtier and a Counſellor who knew the *Queen's* diſpoſition, that ſhe wou'd ſooner ſet him at liberty (and this was after his condemnation) than admitt his Lady to her preſence to make the intended Petition.

After the *Earl's* death, by right ſhe ſhou'd have enter'd into the poſſeſſion of thoſe lands, which were her own inheritance, as alſo ſome of the *Earl* her Huſband's aſſured unto her by way of jointure (all

(all which the *Queen* had ſeiz'd on from the time of the *Earl's* attainder) yet contrary to all juſtice ſhe was forc'd with great charge and trouble to ſue for them all: and tho' her jointure could with no colour be detain'd long, a great part of her inheritance was kept a great while from her by the *Queen* upon ſlight pretences, and in the end to obtain them all ſhe was compell'd to pay by way of compoſition well nigh 10000 pound. 1595.

CHAPTER VII.

Her Grief for the Death of the Earl her Husband.

1595. Half a year after the death of Father *Robert Southwell* of the Society of *Jeſus* her ſpiritual Director who was executed at *Tybourn* for the Catholick Faith, it pleaſ'd *God* to take alſo out of this wretched world unto His heavenly kingdom, the noble *Earl* her Huſband upon the nineteenth of *October* 1595, the which cauſ'd ſo great grief unto her mind, that the effects thereof did much prejudice to her corporal health. Some years before a certain perſon (not ſo diſcreet as might have been

been wiſh'd) told her upon a ſuddain of the unexpected death of the Lady *Margaret Sackville* her Huſband's Siſter, whom for her many great vertues, and conſtant love in all occaſions ſhe did highly eſteem and love; the grief whereof ſuddainly ſurpriſing her wrought ſo upon her, that ſhe immediately fainted away and ever after was much moleſted with a melancholy vapor which iſſueing from her ſpleen and aſcending to her head did exceedingly annoy her, eſpecially in occaſions of any grief and ſorrow. And hence it proceeded that for a long time after the *Earl's* death (which was the greateſt cauſe of grief ſhe ever had) ſhe was ſo afflicted with the riſing of that vapor, and other infirmities following it, that ſhe was forced to keep her bed being neither able to ſit nor ſtand. 1595.

Her noble Aunt the Lady Viſcounteſſe *Mountague* comeing at that time to condole with her ſeeing her ſo full of ſorrow, and fearing leſt then raſhly ſhe might make ſome vow w^ch^ afterwards ſhe might repent

1595. repent and not perform as ſome Ladys not long before had done with great dammage to their ſouls, and loſs of reputation, ſeriouſly adviſ'd her not to forſwear marrying again (that was her phraſe) becauſe ſaid ſhe, the ſorrow you are in at preſent will mitigate and paſs with time, and you are not ſo old but you may think again of marriage. The *Counteſſe* gave her many thanks for her grave advice, and knowing well that it proceeded out of love, promiſ'd ſo far forth to follow it as not raſhly to bind herſelf by ſuch like oath or vow. For tho' afterwards ſhe made a vow of Chaſtity, yet was it not done raſhly nor haſtily, but after long and mature deliberation, and with the advice and approbation of her ſpiritual directors, who knew by ſufficient experience y^t^ ſhe might do it without danger or prudent fear of not keeping it, in regard that during the eleven years of her Huſband's impriſonment, ſhe had liv'd without any difficulty in manner of a Widdow. And within that time ſhe made a firm reſolution

lution with which ſhe did acquaint the *Earl* by Letter, that if ſhe ſhou'd ſurvive him, (contrary to her deſire) never to marry more. The which as he could not be diſpleaſ'd at, it proceeding out of love to him, ſo would he not accept of it as a binding promiſe, but left her, as he ſaid, to the liberty which *God* and his Church in ſuch caſes did permitt. 1595.

And ſo far ſhe was either from not performing or repenting her vow and reſolution that ſhe not only kept them conſtantly and inviolably all her life, almoſt five and thirty years, but took moreover ſo great content and joy therein, that ſhe ſeveral times every year would renew them according to the cuſtome of ſome religious men. And ſo vertuous, modeſt, and diſcreet was her behaviour all that long time of her widdowhood, as alſo during her Lord's impriſonment, and ever before, that (as the Holy Scripture ſayes of that noble and glorious widdow *Judith*) *not one ſpoke an ill word of her:* for tho' there were

1595. were many who bore ill will towards her yet none ever cenſured her deportment, or indeed could with any colour caſt the leaſt aſperſion on her in that kind notwithſtand the times were then exceedingly malitious. Divers Ladies of Quality in the begining of King *James's* reign did match themſelves to *Scotch* men of an inferior degree, and many others ſhew'd more propenſion that way, than ſorted with their reputation. Whereupon a certain Nobleman of that nation deſirous to try his fortune in that kind, came with a numerous and ſplendid retinue to viſit the *Counteſſe*, who at the time of his comeing was not at home, and it was night before ſhe return'd. She gave him ſuch entertainment as in civility was due to one of his rank: but the next morning very early long before the Lord was ſtirring, ſhe went abroad in her coach again, and would not return home till ſhe had notice of his departure: by which he ſaw there were ſmal hopes of comeing at what he aim'd at: and from thence forward neither

neither he nor any ever offer'd to moleſt her, all knowing that ſhe had made a conſtant reſolution to live and die a Widow. 1595.

CHAP. VIII.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE MANNER OF HER LIFE IN THE TIME OF HER WIDOWHOOD.

1595. SAINT *Luke* makes mention in the 2d chapter of his Goſpell of a certain holy Widow call'd *Anne* who *never departed out of the Temple, ſerving God therin day and night in prayer and faſting.* The *Counteſſe* did much deſire and endeavour to imitate this holy Widow: and how well ſhe did perform it I can well teſtify; for, all that time I liv'd with her which was almoſt fourteen years not doubting but ſhe did the ſame before my comeing to live with her, as I have been aſſured by ſeveral perſons worthy of credit.

And

And firſt, for the frequenting the Chappell in her own houſe (which was the only Temple ſhe could go to to ſerve *God* in her troubleſome dayes) I am certain that beſides the times of Holy Maſs, Evenſong and Litanies at which ſhe was always preſent unleſ ſhe was hinder'd by ſickneſs or ſome very important buſineſs, at many other times alſo both in the day and night ſhe retired there and ſpent much time in Prayer, Meditation, and other acts of Piety. 1595.

Her accuſtom'd manner was, as ſoon as ſhe awaked in the morning (about ſix a clock) to ſay certain devout vocal prayers which ſhe knew by hart and had allotted for that time while the maids did riſe and dreſs: thoſe being ended, and herſelf apparrell'd ſhe went immediately to the Chappell, where having offer'd herſelf, and all her actions of the day to the ſervice and honour of *Almighty God*, ſhe recited ſome part of our Lady's Office, and other prayers out of the Primer, Manual, and other pious bookes till Maſs began, which was commonly at eight

1595. eight a clock, at which ſhe did ever aſſiſt with great attention and devotion; every day ordinarily ſhe did hear two Maſſes, ſometimes more nay all that were ſaid. And if any was to be ſaid before her ordinary time of riſing, and ſhe had notice of it, ſhe wou'd not fail to riſe and aſſiſt thereat. Maſs being ended ſhe remain'd moſt commonly a good ſpace in the Chappell reciting the reſt of her vocal prayers appointed for the morning of that day, and a little before dinner if buſineſs did not hinder her ſhe wou'd come thither again to recollect herſelf. About three in the afternoon ſhe uſually went to Evenſong ſpending in that and other prayers together with her beads, wellnigh an hour. Before ſupper ſhe recited her Matins and Lauds, and at nine ſhe was preſent at Litanies. The reſt of the time till her going to bed, which ſeldom was before eleven, ſhe ſpent for the moſt part in Prayer, hearing or reading ſome ſpiritual book, and concluded all with a moſt diligent examin of conſcience.

Upon

Upon thoſe dayes in which ſhe receiv'd the moſt Bleſſed Sacrament ſhe ſpent much more time in the Chappell partly in preparation before, partly in thanкſgiving after communion, the which ſhe judging requiſit to be done very leiſurely not only did ſo her ſelf, but alſo deſired that all others ſhou'd do the ſame; in ſo much that if ſhe ſaw any of her own ſervants or others over whom ſhe had authority, going away ſoon after receiving ſhe would reprehend them for it, and ſometimes ſending for them back again commanded them to ſtay longer to give *God* thanks for ſo great a benefit. She commonly receiv'd twice a week, and for the moſt part went to Confeſſion the night before, that ſhe might have more time the next morning to make due preparation for the entertainment of ſo great a Gueſt, judging it not fitting to differ the ſweeping of the houſe and caſting out the duſt till immediately before His comeing into it. She uſed great diligence at all times in preparing herſelf, but much more upon the principal feaſts. She never 5951.

1595. never miſſ'd any Sermons or Exhortations, yea even in comeing to Catechiſms there was none more diligent than ſhe being commonly one of the firſt in the Chappell at the time appointed for them; and when there was no Sermon or Catechiſm ſhe would cauſe ſome ſpiritual book to be read till almoſt dinner time.

Concerning faſting tho' ſhe could not imitate the holy Widow *Anne* in that ſo much as ſhe deſir'd, by reaſon of the infirmities ſhe was ſubject to, yet in the obſervance of the faſts commanded by the Church ſhe was ſtrict and rigorous: for even when ſhe was ſeventy two years of age ſhe did eat no kind of whitmeats in Lent nor more than one meal upon any faſting day throughout the year. Some of her friends did often entreat her to eat fleſh, and the Phiſitians ſeveral times adviſ'd her to do it, judging that her infirmities did require it: But ſhe knowing how indulgent many Phiſitians of thoſe times were in that point, would never be perſuaded thereto, till the neceſſity was clear and manifeſt, and her ghoſtly

ghoſtly Father did in a manner command and compell her to it. But what was wanting in her imitation of the holy Widow *Anne* by faſting, ſhe ſupply'd abundantly by Alms and other good deeds, as will appear by the following Chapters. 1595.

CHAP. IX.

CHAPTER IX.

HER ALMES-DEEDS.

1595. THE bleſſed Angel S^t *Raphael* a little before his departure from the good old *Tobias* and his Son, among other things gave him one document of great importance concerning the joining of Prayer, Faſting, and Almes together, affirming it to be better than to lay up treaſures of gold. *Bona eſt oratio cum Jejunio, et Eleemoſina magis quàm theſauros auri recondere.* This document as it was well liked and approv'd by y^e *Counteſſe* ſo was it no leſs carefully put in execution. For that her faſting and prayers mention'd in the precedent Chapter were ever accompany'd

company'd with good ſtore of Almes, no day paſſing in which ſhe did not ſome of one kind or another, and no kind, I think is to be found, which ſometimes ſhe did not practiſe. For beſides the beſtowing of meat, drink, clothes, medicines and money upon ordinary poor people which was ſufficiently known to many; ſhe many others perform'd, which very few had notice of, as being privatly done; as were the providing for orphans, the putting poor mens children to trades, the relieving of priſoners, the giving of portions towards the marriage of yong women whoſe friends wanted either will or ability to do it. Almesdeeds of theſe and other kinds ſhe did oftentimes to my knowledge, and thoſe commonly in a more bountifull and liberal manner, than was, or could be expected by thoſe on whom they were beſtow'd. 1595-1630.

So likewiſe for the moſt part was that w^ch^ by her appointment was given ordinarily. For during her abode at *Shefnal* in *Shropſhire* the two laſt years of her life (of which I took more ſpecial notice than

1595-1630. before) I can well teſtify that beſides the dayly almes which were given at the gate of the remaines of the houſehold to ſuch poor as reſorted thither for relief from places more diſtant, and commonly was ſufficient for about twenty perſons; ſhe commanded that three dayes every week, to wit, Sundays Tueſdays and Thurſdays, bread, drink, pottage and meat ſhould be prepared for all ſuch poor of that town and pariſh, as could come for it, which many times were near a hundred. And to thoſe who for old age or ſickneſs could not come ſhe ſent monthly a certain quantity of money, and to the ſick both meat and money. Moreover upon certain dayes in the year which were the birthdayes of her great grand children, Sons to the Lord *Mattravers* (of whome three were born before her death) ſhe uſed to ſend for all the poorer ſort of children in that town, to make dinner for them, and to give to every one of them an almes correſpondent to the years of that child whoſe birthday it was: for the firſt year to each one, one penny; for the

the ſecond year two pence, and encreaſing every year as the children did increaſe in age. After they had dined ſhe cauſed moſt of the leſſer ſort to be brought into her chamber where ſhe then lay ſick and with her own hands gave each of 'em a piece of cake. When ſhe was in health ſhe uſed to be preſent at the childrens dinner to ſee that they wanted nothing, nor were by any defrauded of either meat or money. 1595-1630.

She cauſed likewiſe a good quantity of northern woollen cloth yearly to be bought as alſo ſome ſtore of courſer linen, which ſhe beſtowed upon poor people, and often pay'd for the making of them. To divers poor widows of this kingdome whom ſhe knew to be in want ſhe allow'd yearly annuities for their relief; to ſome 2, to others 4 pounds, others 20 nobles. And all or moſt of theſe the *Earl* her Son doth ſtill continue in remembrance of his Bleſſed Mother, (for ſo he alwayes ſtiles whenſoever occaſion is offer'd to mention her). To ſome other perſons in neceſſity ſhe gave in like manner yearly

1595-1630. yearly penſions during her life and theirs: as alſo a ſtipend or ſalary for a Schoolmaſter to teach poor children in a place in *Cumberland.* And many perſons of better quality who were aſham'd to manifeſt their wants to others ſhe often reliev'd giving five, ten, twenty, ſometimes thirty pounds at once according to their preſent neceſſities.

Another kind of Almes beſides all theſe ſhe practiſ'd very much, conſiſting in medicines, ſalves, plaſters and other remedies to all kind of people who either wanting will, or means to go to Doctors and Chirurgeons, came to her for the cureing of their wounds and diſtempers. And her charity herein was ſo famous, that not only neighbors, but ſeveral out of other ſhires, twenty, forty, and more miles diſtant did reſort unto her to that end, and ſcarce a day paſſ'd in which many did not come, ſometimes more than threeſcore have been counted in one day: and to every one that came beſides advice and medicines if the matter did require it, ſhe uſually gave ſome almes in money

if

if they were poor, as many were. Inſo- 1595-1630.
much that ſome now and then would feign infirmities to get ſome money of her. A hundred marks every year ſhe aſſign'd for her private purſe, and the greateſt part thereof was diſtributed either by herſelf, or ſome of her gentlewomen to ſuch kind of patients or other diſtreſs'd people. She order'd divers kinds of drugs to be bought every year to make her ſalves, and medicines, and her ſelf in perſon would ever be preſent at the making of them to ſee and be more ſure they ſhould be well done and good. Threeſcore dozen of ſheepſkins were ſpent ſome years meerly in makeing the plaſters ſhe gave, and about one hundred weight of one only matter, whereof ſome of 'em were made for aches and other accidents. To ſome of thoſe poor patients who came to her, beſides medicines and money ſhe gave alſo their diet and lodging when comeing far off, ſhe thought it neceſſary for their cure they ſhould ſtay there any time: and I have known ſome to whom ſhe has done this charity

1595–1630. charity for more than a quarter of a year together. And others whom ſhe could not cure of their diſtempers ſhe has furniſh'd with money to *London*, and procured that there they might be receiv'd into hoſpitals and cured. Others again I have known who being diſmiſſ'd from the hoſpitals as incurable ſhe out of compaſſion has taken again into her own houſe, and in the end has cured 'em, *God* eſpecially aſſiſting and bleſſing her charitable endeavours.

CHAPTER X.

Her Charitable Deeds to Priests, and Religious Persons.

Although the Almeſdeeds of y^e^ *Counteſſe* hitherto mention'd were many and great, for which I doubt not but ſhe has receiv'd no leſs reward in Heaven: yet in compariſon of others done ſecretly, and known only to ſuch as were neceſſarily to be employ'd in them, they were very ſmal. Such were the relieving of Prieſts and others in priſon, or otherwiſe in trouble, danger or neceſſity for the profeſſion of the Catholick Religion. The furthering and furniſhing of ſome who had deſires, but wanted means to be religious. 1595-1630.

1595-1630. religious. The helping of Colleges and Religious Houſes in their temporal neceſſities. The providing of money for things of moment which were convenient for the advancement of religion. For all theſe and the like ſhe was not only willing, to contribute, but would do it after a liberal manner.

And firſt to begin with Prieſts, altho' ſhe had little or no acquaintance with any of the Secular Clergy; yet at ſeveral times to my knowledge ſhe has given good ſumms of money for their relief, and would have done more had not the leſs diſcretion of ſome made abate ſomething of her accuſtom'd liberality towards them. But how willing and deſirous ſhe was to have help'd any of them in juſt occaſions is manifeſt by what ſhe did for the delivery of M^r^ *Blackwell* the firſt Archprieſt. For he being forced for his own and the Gentlewoman's ſecurity he liv'd with to hide himſelf in a ſecret place of the houſe when ſearch was made after by the Hereticks: and being in great danger of being taken or famiſh'd by reaſon

reaſon that all the Catholicks of the houſe were carry'd away to priſon, and heretick watchmen put into the houſe to keep it and hinder any from helping him. She haveing notice of his diſtreſs dealt ſo with the officer who had the principal charge of that buſineſs that after three dayes he was content two of her ſervants ſhould come to that houſe at the time when the guard was chang'd, take Mr. *Blackwell* out of the hideing-place, and convey him away, as they ſpeedily did, bringing him betwixt them, he not being able to go alone, to their Lady's houſe, where, after ſome dayes for refreſhing he had ſtay'd, ſhe ſent him ſafe to the place he deſir'd to go. She was ſo well pleaſ'd with the officer who permitted his eſcape, that beſides a good ſumme of money given at that time, ſhe ſent him every year as long as he liv'd a veniſon paſty to make merry with his friends, at Chriſtmas. 1595-1630.

She was ſo charitable to Religious Perſons, that beſides what ſhe gave to particulars ſhe met with by accident, there

1595-1630. there was no Order in *England* of which ſhe had notice, but at one time or other receiv'd ſome conſiderable almes from her; nor ſcarce any College or Religious Houſe of our nation in *Flanders* that did not receive the like favour; and ſome of them oftentimes as their neceſſities did require, twenty, forty, threeſcore pounds at once. And not only to thoſe in *Flanders*, and of our own nation, but to others alſo in more remote countries as *Italy* and *Spain*, and other nations beſides. But to none, nor to all the reſt together was ſhe ſo beneficial and bountifull as to thoſe of the Society of *Jeſus*. For, beſides her keeping ever ſome one of them in her houſe for the ſpace of more than forty years, and the relieving in ſundry occaſions divers other particular perſons of them, ſhe gave every year a very large almes to their community here in *England*, and continued it to her dying day. And to the end they might not want that, or a better means of ſupport after her deceaſe, ſhe ſent at ſeveral times 2500 pounds beyond ſeas,

ſeas, therto be put in bank and increaſed till her death, and then the profit thereof to be employ'd for their uſe and maintenance here. And notwithſtanding all that money came after few years by caſuality to be loſt, yet was ſhe not diſcouraged thereat, but afterwards buying a houſe in the City of *Gant* in *Flanders*, where thoſe of them who had ended their ſtudies might make their third probation, and better prepare themſelves to labour in *God's* vineyard according to their Inſtitute; ſhe furniſh'd it with all things neceſſary for their uſe, maintain'd it during her life, and left competent means for the perpetuall maintenance thereof, with order that whenever it ſhall pleaſe *God* to convert *England* again to the Catholick Faith, that houſe ſhould be tranſported and placed in the City of *Carlile* where; to the end that not only thoſe of that city and her tenants thereabouts, but all the whole cuntry adjoining might receive ſpiritual aſſiſtance by the preaching, teaching, and other pious labours and endeavours of thoſe Religious Perſons

1595-1630.

1595-1630. Perſons whom ſhe intended ſhould be maintain'd therein.

Not only to thoſe of the Society of our nation was ſhe ſo beneficial, as has been ſaid, but to others alſo of the ſame Society of other nations; as unto Father *Mutio Vitelleſco* then General of the Order, ſhe ſent for the uſe of the *Caſa Profeſſa* in *Rome* a great quantity of Church ornaments of her own makeing and contriving eſteem'd there of the value of many thouſand crowns, and much admir'd by many Cardinals and other perſons of great dignity who ſaw 'em, for their rich, rare, and curiouſe workmanſhip, the like whereof could ſcarce be ſeen in all that Chief City of the world. Several other pieces of great value ſhe ſent both to that and others of their houſes; and for many years together before her death ſhe was employ'd in makeing very rich ornaments for their uſe in ſome place or other. And at her death ſhe was about one more than ordinary which ſhe left with a friend of hers to be finiſh'd and ſent to the houſe erected

erected by her in *Gant*, for the ſervice of a Chapell there dedicated to the memory of the Holy Virgin and Martyr S^t^ *Lucy* to whom ſhe was particularly devoted. 1595-1630.

That which made her ſo ſpecially affected to the Society, and mov'd her to do ſo many and great things for the help and advancement thereof, was a ſettled judgment ſhe had of the excellency of its inſtitute for the ſervice of *God* and His Church in theſe times ſo ſorely infected with hereſy and overwhelm'd with ſin. From her very childhood ſhe had a good opinion of it by what ſhe hear'd from her good Grandmother the Lady *Mount-eagle:* and that good opinion was increaſ'd in her youth both by the good reports ſhe hear'd of Father *Campian* and Father *Parſons* (the two firſt of our nation that of it were ſent into *England*) before her being Catholick as alſo by the converſation and acquaintance, tho' ſmal, ſhe had with Father *Gaſpar Heywood* ſoon after her converſion. But afterwards meeting with ſome who buzz'd many things againſt them, ſhe was not a little alienated

1595-1630. alienated (as ſhe has often told me) untill being inform'd of the truth by Father *William Weſton* who reconciled the *Earl* her Huſband, but chiefly by Father *Southwel*, ſhe remain'd ſo well ſatisfy'd, that ever after ſhe continued a moſt conſtant friend, and perpetual benefactreſſe unto them, notwithſtanding ſuch means were uſed to avert her, that ſome doubted not to cauſe it to be printed and publiſh'd by the Gazettiers in *Rome* that now ſhe was no friend of the Jeſuits, and had loſt the good opinions ſhe had of 'em. But how falſe this was appear'd by her workes already mention'd and continued to her end, in which the very laſt night of her life ſhe told me who am a Jeſuit and helped her to die, that nothing did then more comfort her, than what ſhe had done for y^e^ Society, and in particular the ſetting up the Colledge in *Gant*.

CHAPTER XI.

The Education, True Love, and Affection to her Children.

No prudent man can doubt that one who had ſo great charity towards meer ſtrangers as this moſt Chriſtian Lady ſhew'd by her deeds related in the precedent chapters, could fail either in due care, or true love of thoſe who are ſo nearly related as a Childe is to its Mother, the order of charity requireing that it ſhould be more intenſe towards thoſe united by nature. And indeed the principal care ſhe had, and ſhew'd in the begining of her widowhood was about the good Education of thoſe two ſhe had. The yong Lord 1595-1630.

1595-1630. Lord her Son, now Earl of *Arundel* being then but ten years old, and his Siſter the Lady *Elizabeth* a year or a little more older than he. And in order to this ſhe not only procured to have alwayes with her ſuch as might and did carefully inſtruct them in the knowledge of *God*, his true Religion, and all the duties of a Chriſtian; but ſhe herſelf alſo both by word and example did continually incite them to all vertue and piety. Wherein her Daughter made ſo good progreſs in thoſe few years ſhe liv'd, that ſhe was therein a pattern to all of her age and quality. She dyed about ſixteen, and had ſo much profited in learning, that beſides her ſkill in embroidering and writing very well, ſhe not only underſtood the Latin and Italian Tongues, but could render in Engliſh very readily at the firſt ſight any thing written in either of thoſe languages.

She was exceeding dutifull ever to her Mother, and no leſs fearfull to offend her. Of a very ſtay'd, ſober, modeſt and mild diſpoſition, free from all harm, and ſo

ſo carefull to avoid every thing wherein there was the leaſt danger or appearance of ſin, that once going to viſit certain yong Ladys of her kindred who were Proteſtants, becauſe one in the company ſaid ſomething againſt Catholick Religion ſhe was ſo much troubled therewith, that ever after ſhe was unwilling to go there, or any other ſuch place, fearing it might be ſome ſin in her to be preſent where ſuch evil diſcourſe was utter'd. She fell at length after ſome ſickneſs into a manifeſt conſumption, which by little and little brought her ſo low and weak, that ſhe expected death every day a good while before it came; preparing and diſpoſeing herſelf ſo well for it by devoutly receiving the B^d^ Sacrament and other rites of Holy Church, that her Mother, who well knew the innocence of her life, conceiv'd ſuch a ſtrong hope of her eternal happineſs, that it did not only mitigate, but in a manner take away all ſorrow for her departure, in ſomuch that meeting M^rs^ *Anne Vaux* (of whom I hear'd it) in *London* a day or two after her Daughter's

1595-1630.

1595-1630. death ſpoke to her thus with great chearfullnes; Ah Coſen, my *Beſs* is gon to heaven, and if it were *God Almighty's* will, I wiſh y^e^ other were as well gon after her; meaning her Son and fearing, as it ſeems, that, which did afterwardes befall him.

Queen *Elizabeth* intended ſeveral times to have taken him away from her after his Father's death, and given his education to ſome Proteſtant as then the cuſtome was: but by her diligent endevour it never took effect; and ſhe was reſolv'd rather to have ſent him ſecretly into ſome forraign country with hazard both of his perſon, he being then weak and ſickly, and her incurring the *Queen's* higheſt diſpleaſure, than to have expoſ'd him to the danger of perverſion. So that on her ſide as much was done as might be for his education and continuance in the Catholick Religion, in which he did remain ſome years after his marriage and departure from her government till partly through fear, partly through deſire of favour with the *King* (meeting alſo with ſome

ſome bad Counſellors) he accommodated himſelf by degrees to the times much more than he ought to have done to the incredible grief of his good Mother, who in all convenient occaſions did ever give him the beſt counſell ſhe could for the ſafety of his Soul, and return to *God's* Church; offering beſides every day many prayers to the ſame effect, in which, to my knowledge ſhe uſed theſe very words: That if his Divine Majeſty did in his infinit wiſdome ſee, that poverty diſgrace, afflictions and miſeries were the way to bring her Son again to the true faith and his ſervice, that ſhe did moſt earneſtly beg, and beſeech his Divine goodneſſe to let them all fall upon him. And both I and others have often hear'd her ſay that ſhe thought no news could be brought ſo gratefull to her, as that he were well dead, and in ſuch ſort that ſhe might have good hopes of his ſalvation. But becauſe during her life ſhe neither ſaw any effect of her prayers, nor good counſell; a little before her death ſhe wrote this enſueing Letter to him all with her own 1595-1630.

1595-1630. own hand, and ſeal'd it up, with order that it ſhould not be deliver'd (as it was not) till after her death.

My dear Son:

You cannot but know, and I hope the world may witneſs, how carefull I have been all my life time to procure in every kind your welldoing: but that which hath ever gon neareſt to my heart, and for which I have ever offer'd my dayly prayers to *Almighty God*, is the eternal good of your Soul, which now with this my laſt farewell to you and yours, I do with the tendereſt affection a Mother can expreſſe unto her childe, commend unto you. And with all earneſtneſſe pray you for *God* and your own Soul's ſake to think ſeriouſly upon your preſent ſtate, and conſider how little you have gain'd either in honor, wealth, reputation or true contentment of mind by the courſe which now many years you have followed, contrary to the breeding and education I gave you, and to the worthy example your bleſſed Father left you, and the true judgment

judgment of all that wiſh beſt unto you. If, my good childe, you do this carefully I ſhall not need to uſe any other reaſons, but hope *Almighty God* will ſo aſſiſt you with his holy grace, as that you will ſpeedily return to y^t^ ſafe harbor of *God* his holy Catholick Church, out of which you can ſee nothing but confuſion, nor any that is not wholly ignorant can prudently expect ſalvation. And this I have the more plainly, and expreſſly mention'd for the diſcharge of my own conſcience, and for the declaration of my love to you, which maketh me hope you will make ſuch uſe of this my warning, that it be not brought as a teſtimony againſt you at the latter day, when we muſt all meet together to give account of our lives and actions. I beſeech God bleſs you and all yours, and make you all his faithfull ſervants, that in the company of my dear Lord y^r^ Father, I may enjoy you all in perpetual happineſs, and ſo I take my laſt leave of you in this life, ever remaining

Your affectionate loveing Mother

ANNE ARUNDEL.

1595–1630.

She

1595-1630. She wrote another Letter at y^e ſame time and left it in like manner as that of her Son's to his eldeſt Son the Lord *Matravers*, for whom ſhe had always a particular affection; in which ſhe exhorted him to endeavour either by reading of good bookes, or conferring with ſome learned Catholicks, if not by both, to learn to underſtand the truth of their Religion, aſſureing him that in ſo doing he ſhould find it not to be ſo in many things as he and others are miſinform'd, and made believe by Miniſters: but to be that only Religion which was taught by our Bleſſed Saviour preach'd by the Apoſtles, and profeſſ'd by all ages ſince, by innumerable learned, wiſe, vertuous, and pious perſons; and that all others (however pretending to be Reformations) are nothing but meer inventions of wicked men, who for ſome worldly and baſe reſpects were willing to forſake the Religion of their Forefathers. And many good advices of embraceing and profeſſing it when he once came to the knowledge of the truth thereof of bringing his wife and children

children to the ſame. She deſir'd him if he liv'd to ſee Catholick times in this Kingdome, that he would favour and further the houſe ſhe had ſet up at *Gant* (tho' not nameing it) for the Society, and that he would leave the like order to his children and poſterity, hopeing that *God* would bleſs both him and them the more for it, and grant that ſhe might have the more joy of them in Heaven with an eternal happineſſe. 1595-1630.

As theſe Letters do manifeſt the true love and care ſhe had at her death of her childrens chiefeſt good, ſo can I well witneſs that in her life time ſhe both had and ſhew'd the ſame diverſe wayes: but more particularly I remember to have obſerv'd it at the death of two of her Grandchildren, Sons to the *Earl* her Son. The one was a child of four or five years old to whom (by reaſon the education and providing for him was by his Father wholly remitted unto her) ſhe bore a ſpecial affection, and ſhew'd it both by the particular care ſhe ever had of him, and by the grief ſhe manifeſted when in his

1595-1630. his ſickneſs ſhe ſaw him in ſome extremity of pain. Yet when the news of his death was brought her, ſhe was ſo far from ſhewing any grief or ſorrow, that ſhe could not contain her ſelf with joy from calling to me, being otherwiſe employ'd at ſome diſtance from her, and ſaying after a joyfull manner; *O Father thanks be to God, Charles* (that was his name) *is now gon to heaven.* We ſeldom ſee ſuch joy in mothers at the death of their children; becauſe few know how to love them ſo right, and trûly as ſhe did.

The other was *James* Lord *Matravers* the *Earl's* eldeſt Son and Heir, a comely Gentleman, of rare witt and extraordinary expectation who died at *Gant* in *Flanders* in *July* 1624, being about eighteen years of age. This yong Nobleman comeing out of *Italy* together with the *Counteſſe* his Mother, and his Brother *Henry* who ſucceeded him in Title and Birthright, being now in *France*, ready to come for *England* where they had ſent moſt of their retinue, upon I know not what motive, they directed their

their journey towards *Holland* with intention to have kiſſ'd the hands of the Lady *Elizabeth* Siſter to his Majeſty, and taking the City of *Gant* in their way, there he ſicken'd of the ſmal pox and dyed. But before his death was ſo fortunate as to be viſited by Father *John Gerard* a Prieſt of the Society, who together with others liv'd their in y^e^ houſe which his Grandmother a little before had erected, tho' neither he nor any of his company, nor perhaps any one of thoſe who then liv'd in that houſe knew it was ſet up and maintain'd by her, ſo ſecret was it kept. By that Father he was infine reconciled to the Holy Church, haveing never been a Catholick before, nor known to be ſo much as the leaſt affected that way; becauſe the man, who by his Father's appointment taught and tutor'd him both in *England* and *Italy* was not only an heretick, but alſo a miniſter. At the hands of the ſaid Father he receiv'd all the Holy Sacraments neceſſary for a due preparation to death, w^ch^ he receiv'd with ſo good a diſpoſition,

1595–1630.

1595-1650. poſition, that he left no ſmal hopes of his going to a better life. When his Grandmother had notice of his converſion and death, inſtead of lamenting the loſs, as parents are wont to do in ſuch caſes, ſhe gave *God* many thanks rejoyceing that he had made ſo good an end. And when conſidering that if he either came into *England*, or dyed in *Holland* or any other City almoſt of *Flanders*, *France*, and *Italy*, he either could not at all, or not ſo conveniently have had the like means of dying well as he had at *Gant*; ſhe not only admired the providence of *God* therein, but took it as a ſpecial favour from him, and as a ſign he was well pleaſed with the work ſhe then had there begun, and thereby was not a little animated to the finiſhing thereof. Acknowledging moreover that thereby ſhe was already abundantly rewarded for all that ſhe had done. For had it been put to her choice, what ſhe would have aſked in this world in lieu of her reward, there was nothing which ſhe would have demanded ſooner than the converſion of ſome

ſome of her children, that being the thing which next after her own ſalvation ſhe uſed moſt frequently to beg at the hand of *Almighty God*. 1595-1630.

CHAP. XII.

CHAPTER XII.

Her Care of her Servants, and Goverment of her Family.

1595–1630. Amongst other things which the Apoſtle S^t *Paul* would have all Chriſtian Women taught, he ſets down theſe three: To love their Huſband, and their Children; to have care of their Domeſticks. How well our *Counteſſe* learn'd and practiced the two former has been ſufficiently declared. In this Chapter I ſhall ſet down what I obſerv'd during the time I liv'd in her houſe. Her family was ſometimes greater, ſometimes leſs, according as more or fewer of her own, or Siſter's children, or others of her friends and kindred made abode

abode with her. And though the greateſt part of it, and thoſe of the better ſort were Catholicks, yet ſome were Proteſtants, as either being her ſervants before her ſelf was Catholick; yet whatever, or whoever they were, if once they were admitted into her houſe, ſhe took ſuch care of them that they neither ſhould want any thing due, or convenient for them according to their degree and quality, nor live otherwiſe than civil, honeſt and orderly. And if after warning any one noted of diſorder did not endeavour forthwith to mend, he was not permitted long to ſtay, as ſurely as ſuch were diſmiſſ'd preſently who could be juſtly taxed with the leaſt diſhoneſty. She appointed ſuch good orders for to the avoiding exceſs in drinking (a vice in moſt great houſes very frequent in thoſe times) that I do not remember to have heard of any thing of note in that kind to have ever happened in her houſe. Her Gentlewomen and Chambermaids ſhe kept ever buſied in workes ordain'd for the ſervice of the Church; others were employ'd in their ſeveral 1595-1630.

1595-1630. ſeveral offices, none permitted to be idle at any time; and for that end, commonly ſhe kept one in the houſe who had the ſkill of makeing Carpets to whoſe help ſhe uſed to ſend all ſuch as had by any occaſion no certain thing to do. And ſhe was very well content that they ſhould all have convenient ſport and recreation, yet with this proviſo, y^t^ it were in due time and place. Sitting up by night ſhe would by no means permitt; nor that any publick ſport ſhould be made on Sundayes or other Holydayes at the times of the Proteſtants ſervice, not to give them offence.

She uſed commonly a ſettled order in her own actions, as in riſing, going to bed, to meals, and in her prayers, as I have already ſaid; and thereby it came to paſs that the whole houſe was ever in good order, all riſing and going to bed at convenient times as alſo to meals, and thoſe who were Catholicks in like manner to their prayers and devotions: for they knowing the determinate times wherein ſhe went to Maſſe, Evenſong, Litanies, and the like, did always endeavour to be preſent

preſent at them all, if other neceſſary buſineſs did not hinder them: but alſo they were ſure it would be pleaſing to her; becauſe ſhe uſed to diſcountenance and reprehend thoſe whom ſhe saw negligent and ſlack in the ſervice of God, and care of their ſalvation, and ſhew favour to ſuch as were carefull and diligent, thereby to animate both them and others to piety and devotion, as ſhe alſo did in all other things tending to vertue and perfection. 1595-1630.

The which might be one cauſe as I conceive why ſo many went out of her houſe at ſeverall times to be religious. I could name nine or ten who from thence betook themſelves to that happy courſe. Others I knew having the like deſires who dyed with vowes, being prevented by death before they could conveniently put them in execution. And I think that none of all theſe but one way or other receiv'd help and aſſiſtance by her in their pious reſolutions, I am ſure ſhe took ſpecial comfort and content therein. When her only Daughter dyed nothing grieved her ſo much (as I have often hear'd her ſay) as

1595-1630. as that ſhe never perceiv'd in her any inclination to be religious, tho' otherwiſe ſhe were very vertuous. And I make no doubt, had ſhe diſcover'd any ſuch deſire, ſhe would not only have been pleaſ'd therewith, but given her as good a portion, if not better to have taken *that* courſe than to have marryed with any nobleman in *England*. For many times I have ſeen ſhe ſcarce could contain her ſelf in patience, when ſhe heard of y^e^ great inequality which ſome even good people uſed in that kind to ſuch of their children as reſolved upon religious courſes.

But to return again to her Servants and Family; there never wanted ſome in it, beſides thoſe that follow'd the way of perfection, of more than ordinary vertue and piety, among whom M^r^ *Robert Spiller*, her Steward for many years, may well be number'd, becauſe beſides his prudent and carefull management of her eſtate (which enabled her to overcome the burden of her debts, and dō all thoſe charitable deeds I have already mention'd and many

many more) beſides his juſt and upright proceedings in all affaires well known to all he dealt with, together with the regular courſe he held in his ſtate of life, he was noted to be very forward ever both in relieving the poor, and farthering many deeds of charity, eſpecially in helping the Society in all occaſions. To the which he not only gave a yearly, conſiderable Almes, but both in his life and at his death was very liberal towards them leaving a good part of his wealth for the encreaſe and advancement of the means of that houſe which was erected by the *Counteſſe* at *Gant*. The like may be ſaid of his Wife who was ſo wholly addicted to piety and workes of mercy, that ſhe was ordinarily call'd by the *Counteſſe*, in whoſe houſe ſhe lived almoſt forty years, the Mother of Mercy; and worthily too: for ſhe was ſo compaſſionate to the poor and miſerable, that none came to the houſe but ſhe was ever willing and deſirous to help and ſuccour them, which was ſo generally known to all thereabouts, that moſt of thoſe that came to the *Counteſſe* for 1595-1630.

1595-1630. Almes, Medicins or any other thing they wanted, made their recourſe to her. And of her own means ſhe was ſo liberal, that her Huſband was forced ſometimes to reſtrain her therein tho' not ſeldom to my knowledg he permitted her to give great Alms, as at one time 50 pounds, and at another to aſſure unto the Society a perpetual Annuity of good value out of her own inheritance.

Divers other very vertuous Catholicks and piouſe, were ſervants to the *Counteſſe* for many years, and by her good counſel and example were much encouraged to perſever in the good way they had begun before they came to live w^th^ her. And many who were Proteſtants when they firſt came thither, after ſome time became good Catholicks and ſo continued till their death, as others yet living alſo do. One there was more obſtinate than many others, who living in her houſe and ſervice more than thirty years ſtill remaining Proteſtant (tho' otherwiſe a moral man and merciful to the poor) yea even in his laſt ſicknes he was ſo far from thinking of any

any change of his Religion, tho' he wanted neither charitable warning nor good advice, that a day or two before his death he ſent for the Parſon of the Pariſh and received their Communion at his hands; yet at length not many hours before he dyed it pleaſ'd *God* ſo to move his heart by his good Lady's means, that he deſir'd to ſpeak with a Prieſt, by whom, after he had receiv'd full ſatisfaction about the truth of the Catholick Religion, he was reconciled to the Church, and y^t^ night departed out of this life with great hope both in himſelf and others of going to a better world. Another who liv'd there a far ſhorter time had the ſame good luck; for being a neighbour's daughter and entertain'd for a time to attend in the nurſery on ſome who had the care of two or three of the *Earl's* children bred there in their infancy: ſhe was ſo edify'd with the good example which ſhe obſerv'd in the Catholicks, that falling ſick not long after her departure thence, and earneſtly deſiring to become Catholick, ſhe told the Prieſt that came to 1595-1630.

1595-1630.

to her that the good life and devotion of thoſe Catholicks did make her both to think their Religion muſt needs be the beſt, and to deſire to become a member of their Church, as forthwith ſhe did: and having receiv'd the holy Sacraments, ſoon after dyed very happily.

CHAPTER XIII.

HER COURTESY AND CHARITY TOWARDS HER NEIGHBOURS.

THE Bleſſed Apoſtle in his Epiſtle to the *Galatians* gives an excellent leſſon to all Chriſtians. *Dum tempus habemus operemur bonū ad omnes. Whilſt we have time let us do good to all.* Our *Counteſſe* had learnt this leſſon very well. For her goodneſs and bounty did not only to her children and relations, her ſervants and family, and to the poor of all ſorts, but even unto all who liv'd near her, or had any need of her help, ſhe being ever as willing and many times more ready to do it, than they to aſk or demand it. And 1595-1630.

1595-1630. And indeed I could name more than one, and wholy unknown to her otherwiſe than by hearſay and report who have come to give her thanks for conſiderable courteſies done them though neither they, nor any other in their behalf did petition for 'em. Now if to ſuch ſhe was ſo ready to do good offices, well may we conjecture ſhe wou'd be no leſs, but rather more ready to do y^e^ like to thoſe ſhe knew, and did demand them of her.

It is a cuſtom in this Kingdom uſed by our Forefathers for the maintainance and conſervation of Charity, that thoſe of the better ſort do invite their neighbors to dine or ſupp with them at Chriſtmas or ſuch other times. This good cuſtom ſhe inviolably obſerved every year with her neighbors, and perform'd it in ſuch friendly manner that Charity thereby was much increaſ'd. For ſhe without regard to her great Quality, would in perſon dine in the Hall or Parlour amongſt them and moreover kindly welcome, entertain and converſe with all or moſt of them in particular; ſo that they

departed

departed ever well contented, and conceiv'd a love and eſteem of her. In the ſame kind and courteouſe faſhion at all other times alſo ſhe behaved her ſelf towards them, when they came to her houſe or ſhe met them by accident abroad. And in time of their ſickneſs, or other diſaſter, ſhe would both ſend, and go herſelf in perſon many times to viſit and comfort them, and if any fit occaſion were offer'd, move them to that which was for their eternal good. Wherein ſhe was ſo happy that many times her words were of exceeding great effect. Once going to viſit in that manner a ſubſtantial Farmer that lay ſick after ſome diſcourſe he told her how ſome years paſt riding over the Foreſt of *Windſor* he met caſually with a Gentleman wholy unknown to him, who underſtanding by his words that he was a neighbour to her Ladyſhip, gave him a Picture adorn'd w^th^ gold and colours repreſenting our Saviour with the crown of thorns upon his head, and carrying the loſt ſheep upon his ſholders; willing 1595-1630.

1595-1630. willing him to deliver it to her, as he then promiſ'd he would, but hitherto out of forgetfullneſ, or ſome other reaſon had not done it, craving her Honour's pardon for his negligence; which ſhe eaſily granting, and thereupon entering into diſcours (by occaſion of that Picture) about Religion, ſhe ſpoke ſo efficaciouſly, that he deſir'd to become Catholick, which ſhe ſpeedily procureing with all other helps neceſſary for the good of his ſoul, he made a happy end. She kept that Picture till her dying day, and had a great eſteem of it, becauſe it had been the occaſion of ſo much good to that man: but ſhe could never be inform'd who ſent it her, which made ſome think there was ſome ſpecial providence of *God* in it. The like effect her words had upon ſome others who came to her for comfort or relief in their neceſſities. One among the reſt was an old woman who in her youth having been a Catholick, but by her marrying to a Proteſtant, left the profeſſion of her faith, and liv'd in ſchiſm above thirty years

years without any great fear or feeling of her dangerous ſtate; becauſe inwardly ſhe was well affected to the Catholick Religion continued to ſay her ancient prayers, kept Lent and other faſting dayes, and ſecretly in the bottom of a cheſt had an Agnus Dei, a Croſs, a Medal, and ſome other little inſtruments of devotion. One Sunday morning whilſt ſhe was at the Church a thief breaking into her houſe, and opening that cheſt, with other things ſtole away her Agnus, Croſs, Medal and y^e^ reſt, which ſhe perceiving ſoon after her comeing home, and being much afflicted therewith went to the *Counteſſe*, to bemoan herſelf, and procure ſome repair of her ſo great, as ſhe thought, but indeed a gainfull, loſs. For thereupon the *Counteſſe* took occaſion to ſet before her the dangerous ſtate wherein ſhe lived as not being a member of *God's* Church, at which, and other good counſell ſhe receiv'd, ſhe was ſo moved that ſhe reſolv'd to become Catholick again, which ſhe ſoon after did, and living five or ſix years

1595–1630.

1595-1630. years in great innocence, much faſting and prayer, ſhe made a happy end having firſt receiv'd all the holy Sacraments with very great devotion.

Another ancient woman well affected, but who never had been Catholick, having receiv'd ſome courteſies, ſalves or the like from y^e^ *Counteſſe*, uſed theſe words to thank her for them: *God, and our Bleſſed Lady reward your Honour.* She, (ever ingenious upon the like occaſions) perceiving the woman's diſpoſition enter'd into farther diſcours with her, and ſo handled the matter, that both ſhe and her huſband were ſoon after reconciled to the Church.

Theſe and the like good effects were the chief end next to the honour of *God*, which the *Counteſſe* aim'd at in all thoſe good offices ſhe did to her neighbors, and thoſe who came to her; tho' thereby at the ſame time ſhe gain'd the love and good will of all ſorts of people, whereever ſhe liv'd. Whilſt I liv'd with her ſhe changed her habitation four times upon juſt occaſions, and in all thoſe places,

places, tho' of different ſhires ſome of them far diſtant from one another, and the people of diverſe diſpoſitions, yet ſhe was exceedingly belov'd and eſteem'd of all ſorts and degrees, Catholicks, Proteſtants, Puritans. yea even Miniſters out of gratitude for courteſies and benefits receiv'd from her, could not but ſpeak well of her; and ſome of them publickly in their ſermons have praiſ'd and commended her, propoſing her example in Charity and Piety as a patern for thoſe of their Religion to imitate, confeſſing that the profeſſors thereof had great reaſon to bluſh, and be aſhamed of themſelves to ſee how far ſhort they were of her. 1595-1630.

CHAP. XIV.

CHAPTER XIV.

Her last Sickness, Death, Burial.

1595-1630. After the *Counteſſe* had ſpent many years in the practice of thoſe good deeds above mentioned, and others of the ſame nature, being arriv'd at the age of three-ſcore and almoſt thirteen, as full of merits as of dayes, ſhe began both to be weary of this life, and deſirous of a better in heaven: And therefore ſhe entreated ſome whom ſhe deem'd *God's* ſervants to pray for her that ſhe might have a good and happy Death, diſtributing ſome alms, and directing other deeds of charity to the ſame end; and I make no doubt but many of her own prayers were made

made to the ſame purpoſe. And it ſeems that *Almighty God* did not only hear the prayers made in that behalf but hear'd them ſpeedily. For within one month that I had written to that end at her entreaty to a certain Prieſt to whom ſhe then ſent ſome medicines for the recovery of his health, the indiſpoſition which continued till her death was firſt perceiv'd to begin. 1595-1630.

It was a kind of want of appetite or rather a diſlike of meat, which at the firſt ſhe ſtrove to overcome: but afterwards the very ſight and ſmel of much meat growing loathſome and offenſive to her, ſhe was forced to retire at meals unto her chamber, or ſome other place where ſhe might eat ſome little thing alone, the which was ſo little that that not being ſufficient to maintain her ſtrength of body, ſhe decay'd daily more and more. In that manner ſhe continu'd from about the latter end of *September* 1629, till *February*: and in all that time tho' ſhe went not abroad, nor ſeldom came down ſtairs into the gardens or other

1595-1630. other parts of the houſe, as ſhe did formerly, yet did ſhe never fail ſeveral times every day to go to the Chappel to Maſſe, Evenſong, Litanies and the like. About the end of *February* ſhe took ſome phiſick which much weaken'd her, and the laſt of that month (being that year the 3d Sunday in Lent) was the laſt day ſhe came into the Chappel. For being taken with a great pain in one of her feet, ſhe was not able to go out of her chamber, and from that time until the 6t of *April* ſhe continu'd ſtill impairing in her ſtrength by reaſon of the continuance of her want of appetite, and ſome diſtempers of feavers and other pains to which ſometimes ſhe was ſubject a while, and afterwards free again.

During this time ſhe was viſited by the *Earl* her Son, the *Counteſſe* his Wife and their Children who came from *London* only to that end. She was then alſo viſited by divers other noble perſons to ſome of whom ſhe gave very good counſel, and in particular to the Earl of *Northampton* then Lord Preſident of *Wales*

Wales who with her words ſeem'd to be much moved even to tears, and had been happy, if he had put in execution what ſhe then adviſed him, as it is probable he would, had he known his time to have been ſo near at hand, as it was. For within two months or a little more after her deceaſe, he dy'd at *London* unexpectedly and in a manner ſuddainly. 1595-1630.

Upon the ſixt of *April* ſhe was aſſaulted by ſome other infirmities and pains which depriving her of repoſe made her decay ſo faſt, that upon the twelth it was thought expedient to give her the Extream-Unction. She had Maſs ſaid in her chamber every day, and Litanies at night, and commonly receiv'd the Bleſſed Sacrament in this time thrice every week. She had demanded Extream-Unction many times before, and deſir'd it very much, tho' therein as in all other things concerning her Soul ſhe did ſubmitt her deſires to the will of her Directors. One day diſcourſing with a Catholick Doctor of Phiſick who came from *London* to her with the *Earl* her Son,

1595-1630. Son, about medicines, at length they came to ſpeak of oils, and ſhe telling him there was one kind of oil which ſhe valued more than all the reſt, and much deſir'd at that time, he reckon'd up the names of many which he thought moſt pretious and ſovereign: Whereat ſhe ſmiling told him 'twas none of thoſe, but that which is conſecrated by Catholick Biſhops for the eaſe and comfort of ſick people near to death as ſhe ſuppoſ'd her ſelf to be, tho' that Doctor then judg'd otherwiſe, and that ſhe was in little or no danger at all.

When the time was come that it was judg'd neceſſary to adminiſter that Sacrament to her, I told her of it, and aſking if ſhe were willing to receive it then; ſhe anſwer'd very chearfully, y^t^ with all her heart; and deſir'd me to inſtruct her what ſhe was to do therein. Which tho' it were nothing needfull, ſhe well knowing it before, yet to comply with her deſire I told her what then occurr'd to me, for which ſhe gave me thanks after ſuch a hearty and humble manner

as

as I have ſeldom ſeen; ſaying, *God reward you good Father for your great charity.* And not only then, but at other times alſo in her ſickneſs both before and after that ſhe did the like. So that had ſhe been the meaneſt woman living, and I ſome perſon of reſpect who had oblig'd her with many and great benefits, ſhe could not, I think, have ſpoken with more ſubmiſſion and affection than ſhe did. Whereby as I was exceedingly edify'd to ſee ſo great humility join'd to ſo much nobility, ſo was I moved many times to ſuch tenderneſs, that I could not contain my ſelf from tears; an effect in me unuſual, and very rare. While the Extream-Unction was adminiſter'd, ſhe held lighted in her hand (in token of her Faith) a certain hallow'd Candle brought from the holy City of *Jeruſalem*, which for that only purpoſe ſhe had kept more than 20 years. 1630.

The next morning very early ſhe receiv'd the Bleſſed Sacrament with great devotion, having according to her cuſtom made her confeſſion the night before.

1630. And after that ſhe bent her mind wholly to ſuch things as might beſt diſpoſe her unto death. She had made her will and order'd all her temporal affaires long before: ſo that it was not needfull to think of them, neither was ſhe willing to be troubled then with any other thing, as I perceiv'd, in that being told how a certain Lady and kinſwoman of hers had ſent a letter and a meſſenger deſireous to underſtand of her health, whereas before ſhe uſed to be very carefull to make anſwer in ſuch occaſions, then ſhe made none at all, but as tho' ſhe had known nothing thereof, proceeded in her pious exerciſes, which were, as ſoon as ſhe awaked out of the ſlumbers which ſhe was then much ſubject to, to lift up her eyes, hands, and heart to heaven, ſometimes craving pardon for her ſins, with thoſe words of the pſalm: *Miſerere mei Deus ſecundùm magnam miſericordiam tuam*, ſometimes making acts of contrition, of the love of God, of conformity with His holy will, and the like.

The Royal Prophet tells us that *Almighty*

Almighty God will particularly aſſiſt upon their death-bed, and help ſuch perſons as have been carefull to comfort and relieve the poor. *Dominus opem feret illi ſuper lectum doloris ejus.* And ſo this good Lady found it by experience: For beſides a great peace and quietneſs of mind, as being wholy free from all ſuch ſcruples, fears, and anxieties as people leſs carefull of their behaviour are then many times moleſted with, ſo many were the comforts he beſtow'd upon her, that more than once ſhe utter'd with much feeling theſe, and the like words: *O! how much am I bound to Almighty God!* About an hour before her death there being then no likelyhood that it was ſo near, ſhe told me ſhe thought it would be upon a ſuddain adding withall that ſhe was very well content with whatſoever manner of death it pleaſ'd *God* to ſend her; and I telling her, that if ſhe fear'd a ſuddain death it would not be amiſs if any thing troubled her mind to confeſs herſelf, that ſhe might be abſolv'd from it, and ſo be the better prepared: ſhe 1630.

1630. ſhe reply'd that tho' nothing did trouble her conſcience, yet would ſhe be willing to enjoy that benefit; which being done (after ſhe had confeſſ'd ſome things of her life paſt) immediatly both her ſpeech and pulſe fail'd, ſo that tho' ſhe endeavour'd, as was perceiv'd by the motion of her lips, to pronounce after me the Holy Name of *Jeſus*, ſhe could not do it, but ſoon after the recommendation of the Soul and other Prayers appointed by the Church to be recited at that time were ended, ſhe gave up the Ghoſt, about nine at night, the 19th of *April*, 1630, ſhe being then three ſcore and thirteen years old, one month and thirteen dayes.

At the time when ſhe dyed ſhe lay upon a couch in her wonted clothes in the full view of all there preſent, who tho' they had their eies ſtedfaſtly fixt upon her, yet could they ſcarcely perceive when ſhe dyed; ſo quiet, calm, and peaceable it was, that ſhe ſeem'd rather to be in a ſweet ſlumber than in the agony of death, her eies being ſhut all the time, her mouth no more open than

than at other times, without ſighing, groaning, gaſping, ſtretching, or any other violent motion at all, only ſome little ſweat appeared in her face, which in all other reſpects remain'd as grave and comely as before without any alteration, ſo that a ſweeter death could not be wiſhed, with ſuch quietneſs both of mind and body. And verily conſidering the ſtrength and vivacity of her conſtitution, it may well be thought ſomething extraordinary, more than natural, and as an effect of thoſe good deeds and prayers ſhe had offer'd to *God* for a happy death. 1630.

I will not ſtand here to relate the great ſorrow of her children, friends, ſervants and neighbors, nor the general grief of all the inhabitants of the country where ſhe dwelt, upon notice of her death, that being eaſy to conjecture by the great love and eſteem they had all for her. This I know for certain that many who never ſaw her, nor had any ſpecial obligation to her, did much lament it, in regard of the great loſs, as they ſaid, the whole country and people of all ſorts did

1630. did receive thereby. Leting that therefore paſs; after the ceremonies were finiſh'd about the burial of her body, which thoſe times would permitt, it was carry'd in a coach from the Mannor Houſe of *Shefnal* in *Shropſhire* where ſhe dy'd, to the Town of *Arundell* in *Suſſex*, where ſome years before ſhe had cauſed a convenient vault to be made for her own burial, and thoſe of her poſterity: the bodies of her Lord and Huſband, of the Lord *James Matravers*, and others of her Grandchildren being already in her life time there depoſited.

Before ſhe dyed ſhe gave expreſs comand that her body ſhould not be open'd, bowell'd, nor embalm'd: that no Sermon, or other ceremonies ſhould be made by any heretical Miniſters at her burial: and laſtly that no pompe nor oſtentation by Heraldry, or the like ſhould be uſed therein: whereupon her body being wrap'd in ſearclothes and put into a ſtrong coffin was carry'd privatly in her own coach, and only attended the moſt part of the way by twelve or fourteen

teen of her own ſervants. The journey was of ſeven dayes, the ways exceeding foul and deep, in ſo much that almoſt all in the company did every day expect the breaking of the coach, and thought it a ſpecial providence that it held out to the end, wherein they were the more confirm'd by two accidents, which happen'd. One was, that one of y^e^ wheels having ſafely paſſ'd many dangerous places, chanc'd to break in a plain, fair and even way ſo near the houſe of a Catholick Gentleman who very willingly lent one of hers to ſupply the want, that the journey was not hinder'd ſo much as one hour. The other was, that the coach in its return from *Arundel* to *London*, being lightly loaden to what had been before, did breake in the very ſtreet within a ſtone's caſt of *Arundel Houſe*, where it was appointed to remain. 1630.

CHAP. XV.

CHAPTER XV.

THE ESTEEM WHICH GREAT PRINCES, AND NOBLES HAD OF HER.

1595-1630. I HAVE already ſpoke of the great love and eſteem, which both the common people, her neighbors, and thoſe of better ſort had of y^e^ *Counteſſe* in all places where ſhe liv'd: now I will ſet down ſomething, of the good opinion which I have underſtood perſons of a higher degree to have framed of her for the vertue and goodneſs which either they themſelves obſerv'd in her, or had notice of by the relation of others. And firſt, to begin with his Majeſty that now reigns; he having underſtood how ſhe was ſomething

thing mended of her infirmities, and in good hope of recovery in her laſt ſicknes, ſeem'd to be very glad of it, and told a friend of hers that he pray'd every day for her health and welfare; and the *Queen* then preſent did teſtify the ſame of her part. The Lady *Elizabeth* his Majeſty's Siſter did alſo both by Letters unto her not long before her death, and other wayes manifeſt much love and eſteem for her. And Queen *Anne* mother to them both not only ſhew'd great reſpect in preſence when ſhe came to viſit her, but in her abſence alſo when occaſion offer'd itſelf, ſhe uſed to ſpeak more than ordinarily well of her, and told a principal Nobleman how greatly ſhe did deſire and eſteem her prayers. 1595-1630.

Mary Queen of *Scotland* and Dowager of *France* Mother to King *James* being priſoner here in *England* (where afterwards ſhe was moſt unjuſtly put to death) and having notice how wiſe and worthily the *Counteſſe* did behave herſelf all that time in which the *Earl* her Huſband did by evil counſel abſent and eſtrange himſelf

1595–1630. ſelf from her, partly to comfort, partly to ſhew the love ſhe bore her; for a token thereof, ſent her a piece of work in ſilk and ſilver made and contriv'd by her ſelf in this form.

There was a tree framed, whereon two turtles ſate, on either ſide one, with this difference that, by that on the right hand, there were two or three green leaves remaining: by the other, none at all, thee tree on that ſide being wholy bare: over the top of the tree were theſe words wrought in ſilver, *Amoris ſorte pares.* Signifying that herſelf and the *Counteſſe* repreſented by thoſe two turtles were alike in their affections to two perſons of the ſame family, the Duke of *Norfolke*, and the Earl of *Surrey*. At the bottom of y^e^ tree on that where the former turtle ſate by the green leaves theſe words were alſo wrought in ſilver: *Hæc Ademptum*, with an anchor under them to ſhew that the *Counteſſe* whom ſhe put on the right hand, might be in ſome hope becauſe her Lord was yet alive, tho' by reaſon of his abſence and unkindnes towards her, ſhe mourn'd

mourn'd as a turtle. On the other ſide of the tree under the other turtle were theſe words in like manner wrought: *Illa peremptum*, with certain pieces of broken boards, ſignifying that her own hopes were wholy wrack'd by the death of the *Duke* for whom ſhe mourn'd as a ſolitary turtle without hope of comfort or redreſs. 1595-1630.

Beſides theſe Princes already mention'd, who were of our own country, ſome others there were of more remote countries and kingdoms who ſhew'd no leſs eſteem of the *Counteſſe* than they did. As in particular the Infanta Donna *Iſabella Eugenia Clara* Archducheſſe of *Flanders* in ſeveral occaſions; and her Brother King *Philip* the Third of *Spain*, who, as I was told by his Embaſſador here in *England*, procured her picture to be ſent unto him from hence into *Spain*, where in his famous Palace of the Eſcurial he cauſ'd it to be placed and kept among the pictures of other perſons of great merit and dignity.

I need not ſpeak of the eſteem which many

1595-1630. many of our *Engliſh* Nobility ever had of her, eſpecially in her elder years, it being ſufficiently known. I my ſelf have ſeen diverſe of them ſtand in her preſence bare headed, and would not put on their hats untill they were in a manner forced to do it, and I could name ſome of the chief rank who confeſſ'd of themſelves, that when they came into her company, they durſt not ſwear; as at other times they were wont to do even before the beſt of the kingdom, ſuch was the reſpect they bore, and, I may ſay, the awe they ſtood in, of her. This finaly I know for certain that a perſon of great wealth and power, who had very hardly treated his Wife an honourable Catholick Lady for her Religion, fearing leaſt ſhe ſhou'd make her complaint to the *Counteſſe*, as being her kinſwoman and ſpecial friend entreated her upon his knees not to do it, promiſing all good uſage for the future if ſhe would forbare, which he did perform moſt faithfully.

CHAPTER XVI.

A Description of her Person, and Manner of Attire.

There were many things in the *Counteſſe* which cauſ'd that great and general eſteem of her, I juſt now ſpoke of: and amongſt others, tho' the leaſt, was her very countenance and corporal preſence which was ſo venerable, that it alone was ſufficient to move any one to bear a reverent reſpect unto her. I could name ſome who have confeſſ'd they found that effect in themſelves by the very firſt ſight they had of her, and a certain Nobleman and Officer in the Court ſeeing her at the beginning of King *James* his Reign, when ſhe 1595–1630.

1595-1630. ſhe went to meet and do her duty to the *Queen*, did ſignify as much, thus ſpeaking to a friend: I do not know how to rank my Lady of *Arundel*, whether amongſt the old Ladies or the yong: becauſe the beauty and freſhneſs of her face (being then betwixt forty and fifty years) makes her ſeem yong, but the gravity of her countenance, carriage and attire move me to think the contrary, and that ſhe is the eldeſt in the company.

Some who knew her in her yonger years have told me ſhe was then very fair and beautifull which may very eaſily be believ'd, becauſe even to her laſt ſickneſ her countenance was comely and her colour and complexion more freſh than many women's is at forty. She was taller of ſtature than the common ſort, and towards the end of her life ſomething corpulent, but without deformity, it rather adding a kind of gracefull comelineſs and majeſty: the which had ſhe endeavour'd to improve and ſet forth with art and ornaments as too many do, doubtleſs it would have ſeem'd and been eſteem'd extraordinary.

traordinary. but ſhe well knowing how vain and frail exterior beauty is by that ſaying of holy Scripture: *Fallax gratia et vana eſt pulchritudo,* apply'd her endeavours to the adorning and beautifying her ſoul with vertues, little regarding or rather wholy neglecting all that artifice with which women uſe to ſet themſelves off to the beſt advantage. 1595-1630.

For altho' her apparell were decent and grave, yet both in ſubſtance and circumſtance it was always homely and plain. Her gowns commonly were of ordinary black ſtuff of ſmal price, and all the reſt was ſuteable thereto. And by that which was ſpent yearly in all things appertaining to her apparell, it is manifeſt that it could not be coſtly: for as I have been certainly inform'd, by thoſe who had perfect knowledg thereof, the whole ſumme ſeldom amounted to more than twenty pounds by the year ſometimes not ſo much. And as for other ornaments ſhe never uſed any; only upon great feaſts and principal holydayes in honour of the ſolemnity ſhe uſed to wear about

1595-1630. about her neck, either a Croſs of gold, in which a particle of the Holy Croſs was inſerted, or an Agatt in which the picture of the Bleſſed Virgins Aſſumption was engraven, or els a plain pair of Beads ſent unto her by Father *Claudius Aquaviva* General of the Society of *Jeſus*, the which ſhe much eſteem'd kept, and uſed till her death, and then left them as a legacy to a great Lady a ſpecial friend of hers. In the faſhion of her apparell ſhe was nothing curious, and as conſtant as others of our nation are fickle and mutable therein: for both in the attire of her head, in her ruffs, gowns, and all other things ſhe kept ſo conſtantly the ſame faſhion, the ſame colour, the ſame ſtuff, that it was hard even for thoſe who liv'd in the houſe to perceive when ſhe made any change, the new being ſo like the old.

All the time I liv'd with her I never noted any markable alteration in any of thoſe things but once, and that was when ſhe went to the ſolemnization of the marriage of their Majeſties that now reign, at which her head dreſs was ſomething different,

different, tho' very grave, and her gown tho' of the ſame plain faſhion with y^e^ former, was of ſilk grogeram. But how little pleaſing that alteration (extorted by the earneſt entreaty of ſome friends) was to her, appear'd by this, that immediatly after that occaſion was paſſ'd, ſhe put on her uſual attire, and never wore the other again. This alſo may be an argument of her little regarding the ornament and beauty of her body, that for almoſt forty years before her death ſhe never uſed any looking glaſs. Her glaſſes were a crucifix lively repreſenting the Perſon and Paſſion of our Bleſſed Saviour, and ſome other devout pictures which ſhe had alwayes in her chamber placed in ſuch a manner, that ſhe might frequently look upon them, and thereby excite her ſelf to devotion. 1595-1630.

CHAPTER XVII.

Her Judgment, Prudence, and Diſcretion.

1595-1630. Another thing which mov'd many to eſteem the *Counteſſe* very much was the prudent carriage of her ſelf in converſation with all kind of companies: For through her wiſdom and diſcretion ſhe knew how to accommodate herſelf to all ſorts of people: and by reaſon of the knowledg and inſight ſhe had into many things, join'd with an excellent memory and judgment, ſhe would diſcourſe exceeding well of almoſt any thing with very apt and fit expreſſions of her mind. In point of Phyſick and Embroidery, I have

have hear'd her judgment highly commended by perſons ſkilfull in thoſe faculties, as alſo in the knowledg of the nature and qualities of herbs, and ſo doubtleſs it was in other things. That oath which was framed after the beginning of King *James's* reign, and maſk'd with the title of Allegiance, w^th^ which too many Catholicks of our nation have and will be deceiv'd, even after its condemnation by the Supreme Paſtor, being ſhew'd unto her before it was publiſh'd or enacted by the Parliament, was judg'd by her to be no other than what afterwards it was declared to be by the See Apoſtolick, ſhe eaſily perceiving the craft therein contain'd, and the pernicious drift of thoſe who were framers of it. 1595–1630.

The like commendations thoſe who knew her beſt would give of her memory; and verily myſelf have marvell'd many times, to hear her recite things ſo perfectly which ſhe had learnt more than forty years before, the which ſhe ſeldome had occaſion by repeating to conſerve in memory. And in diſcourſe ſhe would mention

1595-1630. mention ſo many particularities and petty circumſtances of things ſhe had either ſeen or hear'd from her very infancy. About two years before her death going caſually with other company into a country church to ſee a monument, ſhe fell into diſcours with a miniſter there preſent, and upon occaſion told him of a very pregnant place of Scripture in proof of prayer for the dead which ſhe affirm'd to have hear'd before ſhe was Catholick (fifty years paſt if not more) out of one of the Leſſons read in their Churches upon May Day. She recited the formal words, willing him to look into an old Service-Book uſed in Queen *Elizabeth's* dayes, which by chance was yet remaining in y^t^ Church whether it were as ſhe ſaid, or no. He turning to the place forthwith could not deny it to be directly ſo; and having confer'd it at her entreaty with their Service-Book of later times, and found it very different both in ſound and ſenſe of words, he remain'd as much confounded, as others admired the excellency of her memory.

Yet

Yet more laudable were her prudence and diſcretion in ſo carrying her ſelf, and ordering her words and actions that none could receive offence, many reap'd much benefit and edification by them. The times in which ſhe lived were very captious, and men apt to think and ſpeak the worſt of any thing done or ſaid by Catholicks; yet was ſhe ſo wiſe and wary that no exceptions (as far as I could hear) were ever taken againſt her. 'Tis true that ſome of the purer ſtrayn fearing leaſt by her charitable deeds the Catholick Religion would gain among the people too much reputation, and their own thereby not a little be eclipſ'd, would not ſpare ſometimes to mutter a little againſt, ſaying it was pity ſhe was not a Proteſtant; for being a Papiſt all thoſe good works were done out of an erroneous opinion of the merit of them, and a vain preſumption to be ſaved by them. Whereupon ſome of them deſiring as it ſeems, either to pervert her in religion or divert her from doing ſuch and ſo many good works, or at leaſt to ſound 1595-1630.

1595-1630. ſound her intention in doing them, ſent a Siſter of their Congregation, who like another Thecuite ſet on by *Joab*, came unto her, and after diverſe circumlocutions, began to utter that which was put into her mouth by thoſe who ſett her on. to witt: that having hear'd much of the good deeds her Honour perform'd, could not but praiſe the *Lord* for it, to whome alone all the glory was to be given for all the good we do; that our juſtices are like unto foul ſpotted cloth, and when we have done all we can, we are but unprofitable ſervants, and ought not to preſume upon our merits, with diverſe other words to like purpoſe, touching ſomething alſo upon Religion. To which the *Counteſſe* made this anſwer. That ſhe was not aſhamed of her Religion well known to the world, nor purpoſ'd by the grace of *God* ever to alter it: and as for ſuch ſmal things as ſhe did if there was any goodneſs in them ſhe knew it was to be attributed unto *Almighty God*, from whom, as from the fountain, all goodneſs doth proceed. That ſhe had no

no reaſon to preſume on any of her workes knowing how poor they were, and how full her ſelf was of faults and imperfections, for which juſtly ſhe might, and did eſteem herſelf no better than an unprofitable ſervant to his Divine Majeſty. Yet one thing ſhe would have her to know, ſeeing our Bleſſed Saviour was pleaſ'd to promiſe that not one cup of cold water given for His ſake ſhould paſs without reward, ſhe verily believed He would perform His promiſe and juſtly reward any good work done in, and by His grace and only for His love. And that thereupon ſhe did rely and was encouraged to do ſuch ſmal things as lay in her power. To this anſwer the good woman made no reply, but ſeeming to reſt ſatisfy'd went away, never return'd and never was hear'd of more. I ſaid juſt before that her prudence was ſuch that none were offended by her words, but rather many much edify'd, and it is moſt true. Amongſt others I knew a Lady much addicted to the Puritans, who hearing her give good counſel to a Gentlewoman that. 1595-1630.

1595–1630. that was dying, remain'd not only much edify'd, but in a manner aſtoniſh'd thereat, thinking, as ſhe ſaid, that no Catholick could have given ſuch, and that ſhe thought that no preacher could have ſpoken better. Many alſo that came to her for remedy of their corporal infirmities have affirm'd that they receiv'd more benefit by her ſpiritual advices, than by the medicines ſhe gave them tho' otherwiſe exceeding good.

A woman of better quality than ordinary having by a defluxion loſt the ſight of both her eyes, and therewith alſo the quiet of her mind, came to the *Counteſſe* for ſome remedy; to whom after ſhe had preſcribed ſome medicins, ſhe adviſed her to conform herſelf to *God's* holy will in caſe it were His pleaſure that ſhe ſhould not recover her ſight again, and told her ſo much of *God's* providence in ſending ſuch croſſes, and of the evils ſhe ſhould avoid by want of ſight, that the woman was ſo comforted and her mind ſo quieted, that ſhe doubted not to ſay, that tho' ſhe did never ſee again

again it would not trouble her.' Some others have received ſo much good by her prudent advices, that they thought themſelves oblig'd to come to give her ſolemn thanks for them, and I have ſeen others in their letters make unfeign'd proteſtations they were never ſo edify'd by any, as by her. 1595–1630.

CHAP. XVIII.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Her Humility.

1595-1630. Many titles are given by the Doctors of the Church unto the vertue of Humility to declare the neceſſity and excellency thereof. Saint *Jerome* calls it the *Prime vertue of Chriſtians.* S. *Gregory* ſays 'tis the *Root, origin, miſtreſſe and mother of all vertues.* S. *Bernard* termes it the *Foundation and guardian of vertues.* All this was well known to our *Counteſſe;* and therefore ſhe had a ſpecial care to procure it, and by continual practice to plant it deeply in her ſoul. And indeed did obtain it in as compleat a manner as any perſon almoſt that I ever knew. For

For tho' ſhe was the principal Cõunteſſe of *England*, and next in dignity to the *Queen* for a long time; yet was there ſcarce any one, I think, more lowly and ſubmiſſive, more courteous and affable, none who leſſe ſtood upon points of honor and reſpect than ſhe. Many ceremonies were due to her degree, and quality, in the obſervance of which ſhe had as little, as others too much regard. For, when neglects in that point were committed ſhe was ſo far from ſhewing the leaſt diſpleaſure that moſt commonly ſhe would not permitt them to be uſed. And when any inferior to her did either out of ignorance or want of reflection and breeding take the better place (as ſometimes it happen'd) ſhe never took any notice of it, but let them keep their place. If any claim'd kindred of her, how poor or mean ſoever they were, ſhe not only would acknowledge them as ſuch, but ever after call them Coſens in all occaſions, tho' they had little or no right to it. 1595–1630.

I ſignifyed heretofore what a multi-

tude

1595-1630. tude of people reſorted unto her eſpecially for medecins, and none of them were ſo poor and deſpicable with whome ſhe would not only talk in friendly manner, view and look upon their wounds and ſores, but touch and dreſs them alſo ſometimes with her own hands, eſpecially when ſhe found any repugnance thereunto, as once perceiving in herſelf a great averſion and horror to look upon a foul deform'd ſore leg of a poor man who lay begging by the way ſide as ſhe paſſ'd, ſhe cauſed her coach to be ſtay'd, went out to him, ſate down upon the ground by him, view'd, touch'd, and dreſſ'd the ſore, and thereby ſo overcame herſelf, that ſhe never after found any difficulty either in looking upon, or dreſſing any ſore whatſoever. Whence we may with reaſon conclude there was no exerciſe ſo humble to which ſhe would refuſe to put her hand, as the dreſſing of meat and carrying it herſelf to the table for Religious Perſons who ſometimes came to viſit her. Her plaineſſe in apparell already mention'd, as alſo in all other things appartaining to her perſon

ſon without any kind of pompe or oſtentation, may likewiſe ſerve for a good proof of her interior humility of mind, from which without doubt it did proceed. But a far better was her forwardneſs to aſk and take counſell in all kind of affaires, and her willingneſs to be directed therein. She was reputed (and that with reaſon) more than ordinary wiſe by all who knew her; yet in matters of moment ſhe would alwayes aſk the advice of others ſkillfull therein, and would commonly rather follow their judgment than her own. This I can truely teſtify that among ſo many different nations, natures, eſtates, qualities and conditions with whome I have dealt in ſpiritual affaires, never to my remembrance to have met with any more willing to be directed, nor more ready to put good advice in execution, which cannot but argue a great ſtock of humility. She has entreated me many times not to diſſemble any fault I might diſcover in her, or any thing els I judg'd to be amiſs; but freely to tell her of it. And by the effect I clearly perceiv'd it was no complement, but

1595–1630.

1595-1630.

but true humility and a ſincere deſire of becomeing more pleaſing to the Divine Majeſty. So that whenever I told her of any thing which I judg'd ought to be mended, ſhe never fail'd to thank me for it, and to be moſt diligent in executing the advice.

Infine her forwardneſs to aſk pardon for faults only ſuppoſ'd by herſelf to be comitted, was no leſs an argument of her humility than any of the reſt. And indeed ſhe was ſo forward in that particular that I was forced ſometimes to reſtrain her therein, ſhe having rather receiv'd, than done any injury to thoſe of whom ſhe'd aſk pardon, as once it happen'd in my preſence, that to one who in a fury had rent a writeing before her eyes, only becauſe ſhe ſaid it was not done in that manner as ſhe had appointed. The man's paſſion being a little over ſhe went to him, and with great humility aſk'd his pardon for giving him that occaſion of anger, at which he was much confounded, as perceiving then very well that all the fault was his own. She once made a little ſhew

of

of ſome diſpleaſure only by a word, becauſe I did excuſe a fault committed by a ſervant juſtly reprehended by her; but not long after ſhe came, and before I was aware, fell down upon her knees to aſk me pardon, when as indeed if there was any fault it was rather mine, tho' I had not ſo much humility as to acknowledge it. 1595-1630.

From this humility, and the true knowledge of herſelf that wholeſome pious fear of *God* which was noted in her did proceed. This made her continually beg of *God* not to leave her to herſelf; and in all occaſions to have humble recourſe to Him for help and aſſiſtance, which yet was accompany'd with ſo great a confidence in his infinit goodneſs and mercy that ſhe remain'd as it were with a kind of aſſurance that he would never forſake her having the eyes of her ſoul after a hopefull manner ever lifted up to him, *As the eyes of the handmaid are upon the hands of her miſtreſs:* In the conſideration of which words ſhe found no ſmal comfort. For, ſaid ſhe, if miſtreſſes in this world that

1595–1630. that be but meanly good, do ſhew favour and mercy to their ſervants who hope and expect it at their hands; I have no reaſon to doubt but that *Almighty God* being of infinit goodneſs will do the like to me, if I do hope, expect, and aſk it of Him as I ought.

CHAPTER XIX.

Her Constancy, and Magnanimity.

I have already mention'd diverſe great Calamities which the *Counteſſe* did endure; as the unkindneſs of the *Earl* her huſband for many years: Harſh uſage from Queen *Elizabeth* and her Officers: Her own and her Lord's impriſonment, with the many great difficulties, dangers, damages, and loſſes which befell her by reaſon of his troubles: to which may be added many more w^ch^ happen'd when thoſe were over; as the croſs and unjuſt proceedings of ſome of her own kindred againſt her; ſeveral corporal infirmities to w^ch^ ſhe was ſubject for many years. The impriſonment of 1595-1630.

1595-1630. the *Earl* her Son twice in the *Tower*, together with the diſaſter which happen'd to him by his leaping out of a coach in going from her houſe at *Horſley* in *Surrey* to *London*. To which may be alſo added diverſe great loſſes in her temporal goods. Of all which tho' ſhe could not chuſe but be ſenſible, and might juſtly have manifeſted exteriorly that grief which reaſon and religion permitt in ſuch occaſions; yet ſuch was her magnanimity that I do not remember to have ever ſeen her much troubled either with any of thoſe, or other ſuch like accidents, her cuſtome being to take them as ſent and ordain'd by the paternal providence of *Almighty God* for her greater good, and as things happening by chance. The things which I perceiv'd moſt to trouble her, were to be in debt, or to hear that damage had been done to any, by any thing belonging to her, as by the deer of her parkes in the neighbors corn or the like, never reſting till payment and ſatisfaction were compleatly made.

But tho', as I ſaid, nothing troubled her

her ſo much as to be in debt; yet even in that ſhe ſhew'd no ſmal magnanimity: for when it ſo happen'd that before ſhe was aware by the negligence or overſight of her principal officer who then managed her eſtate, her debts came to amount to fourteen thouſand pounds, yet was ſhe not diſmay'd nor dejected therewith but preſently applying herſelf to the remedy thereof, ſhe ſo prudently order'd the matter by the aſſiſtance of Mr. *Robert Spiller* whom ſhe then took to be her Steward that before many years did paſs ſhe not only clear'd all thoſe debts, but purchaſed alſo diverſe lands which ſhe left to her poſterity, ſuccour'd y^e^ *Earl* her Son's neceſſities, perform'd diverſe noble actions requireing great expence, and finally did all thoſe good deeds above mention'd, in which many thouſand pounds were diſbourſ'd, keeping in y^e^ mean time a great houſe and family with all things in ſuch abundance that leſs than one thouſand a year could not be ſpent. And that which ſhew'd no leſs the greatneſs and goodneſs of her mind, was

1595-1630.

1595-1630. was when ſhe underſtood that all the money (two thouſand five hundred pound) put in bank for the benefit of the Society after her death, was loſt, ſhe was neither much troubled nor dishartened therewith, but preſently thereupon took occaſion to ſet up the College in *Gant*, and brought it to perfection.

Of her conſtancy in the profeſſion of the Catholick Religion I need not ſpeak, it being well known that from the firſt day ſhe embraced it ſhe never wavered therein: but ſuffer'd impriſonment, and many hardſhips for it, and was alwayes prepared to have rather loſt her life and eſtate, than to have done any thing contrary to it, as I have often hear'd her ſay, and wiſh ſhe were worthy of ſo great a happineſs.

She became Catholick in the year 1582, or 83, and ſo remain'd publickly known of all for ſuch until her dying day in 1630: ſo that ſhe continued in the confeſſion thereof almoſt 50 years, during which time ſhe was often preſented, and indited for it; and not only paſſ'd

paſſ'd through many boiſterous blaſts of perſecution which happen'd in thoſe dayes, without ever ſhewing any frailty when many ſtrong ſtout-hearted men both of the Laity and Clergy were blown down: but animated moreover, and encouraged ſeveral by her words and example to the like conſtancy, who otherwiſe through fear were in great danger of falling. Some likewiſe who had in thoſe tempeſts ſhew'd weakneſs were by her means ſtrengthen'd and reduced again to their former ſtate. Thoſe finally whome ſhe underſtood to have been conſtant and courageous in that cauſe, ſhe endeavour'd to help and honour all ſhe could both in their life, and after their death. As ſhe did amongſt others unto that happy gentlewoman Mrs. *Anne Line* who I ſaw put to death at *Tyburn* for having given entertainment to a Prieſt, in *February* 1600. For underſtanding that certain reſolute Catholicks intended to take up her body in the night time out of the place where it was diſhonourably buried in the ſame grave

1595-1630.

1595-1630. grave and under the bodies of diverſe malefactors, ſhe ſent her coach with them, and therein brought the body to her own houſe where it was kept with reverence till it could be conveniently diſpoſ'd of by thoſe who had more intereſt therein.

The like conſtancy ſhe ſhew'd in all her exerciſes of Piety and Devotion, never omitting her uſual Prayers (which were very many) for any buſineſs whatſoever, unleſs ſhe were comanded by her Ghoſtly Father: nor ever intermitting the frequentation of the Holy Sacraments, which every week, or oftener ſhe did receive. To this may be reduced her conſtancy in the faſhion of her apparell already mention'd, in the midſt of a nation ſo ſubject to mutability in that point. As alſo in her affection to the Society notwithſtanding ſo many endeavours that were uſed to avert her from them both by Proteſtants and Catholicks of ſeveral conditions and degrees; and finally in the application of herſelf to help, cure, and comfort of the

the poor, tho' there wanted not many things which might (had ſhe acted out of human motives) have moved her to deſiſt from it. 1595-1630.

CHAP. XX.

CHAPTER XX.

Her Piety and Devotion.

1595–1630. If I ſhould take Devotion in y^e^ proper ſence, which is a promptitude and readineſs to do any thing appertaining to the ſervice of *Almighty God*, I might juſtly ſay that I ſcarce ever knew any comparable to her therein: for that no ſuch kind of work could be propoſ'd to her at any time, whereto ſhe was not ever moſt willing, and rather too forward than otherwiſe, inſomuch that after I had experience of her diſpoſition, I thought it needfull to be very circumſpect, that the things I propoſ'd unto her were either neceſſary or very convenient to be

be done, becauſe I was in a manner certain ſhe would not fail to do them: and indeed I do not now remember that ever in all thoſe years I lived with her, ſhe either deny'd or made any ſhew of difficulty in doing any thing I ſuggeſted to her, but often would do more than I intended. 1595-1630.

But underſtanding Devotion according to the common meaning, for a pious affection towards *God*, his Bleſſed Mother, his Holy Saints and Servants, in this alſo ſhe was more than ordinary. Her Piety towards *God* ſufficiently appeared by that which has been already ſaid concerning her application to Prayer and the frequentation of the moſt Bleſſed Sacrament. Her devotion to the Bleſſed Virgin was manifeſt by many things. For beſides the ſaying every day the Office dedicated by the Church unto her memory, as alſo the Beads ordain'd for commemoration of her fifteen myſteries, together with other Prayers, ſhe procured to be admitted into the Society or Confraternity of the Roſary, as alſo into the

1595–1630. the Sodality inſtituted in honour of her Immaculate Conception, to which myſtery ſhe was ſo much affected, that ſhe made a vow ever to follow the pious opinion of her being conceiv'd without original ſin, which ſhe writ with her own hand and kept continually about her till her death, and was verbatim as it is here ſet down, tranſcrib'd out of the original itſelf, which as yet I have in cuſtody.

Being here proſtrate at the feet of thy Majeſty, O *Mary* Queen of heaven and earth, and calling to mind the many benefits I have receiv'd by thy means, I *Anne* following the ſteps and examples of many moſte Learned, Vertuous, and Holy Perſons in this ſacred place, and in this chearfull and happy day of the Feſtivity of thy Conception, do confeſs thee, O Mother of *God*, to have been preſerv'd, from Original Sin in the firſt inſtant of thy conception, through the merits of *Chriſt* the Son of *God* and thee, foreſeen from all eternity. And I take *God* thy Son, and thy Self to witneſs, that I will conſtantly by his grace retain

tain even to the laſt moment of thy life this Judgment of thy preſervation from Original Sin. This I promiſe, this I vow, this I ſwear, ſo help me *God*, and his holy Saints, always underſtood with due ſubjection and ſubmiſſion to the judgment and determination of holy Church, and the Chief Paſtor thereof his Holyneſs of *Rome*. Now therefore O moſt happy and Bleſſed Virgin who waſt choſen from the begining and before the world by *Almighty God*, and ſo preſerv'd from all blot of ſin, amplify with long peace, felicity the ſame moſt holy Father *Paul* thy Son's Vicar, and Vicegerent here in earth. Bleſs thoſe Catholick Princes who are conſtantly addicted to thy Immaculate Conception with long old age and the glory of upright command, heap upon thoſe people who are devout unto thee all good things, and vouchſafe to obtain for us purity of mind and body, with due deteſtation of all kind of ſin. Amen. 1595-1630.

The Saints to which ſhe was particularly devoted beſide S. *Anne* her Patroneſs,

1595-1630. eſs, were the Holy S. *John Baptiſt*, S. *Ignatius* of *Loyola* Founder of the Society of *Jeſus*, and the bleſſed *Aloyſius Gonzaga* of the ſame Society, and in a very ſpecial manner the Holy Virgin and Martyr Saint *Lucy* by whoſe words ſpoken to her Mother about the diſtributing in her life time what money ſhe had to the poor (as it is related in her life) ſhe was moved efficaciouſly to put in practice that point of great wiſdom which few do learn or imitate, to witt; of not defering till their death ſuch good deeds as *God* moves them unto, thinking it well enough if they ordain to have them perform'd after their deceaſe by Executors, who many times are very ſlow, and too too often wholy neglect and omitt them. And this point of pious prudence ſhe much endeavour'd to perſuade to her friends and acquaintance, together with that devotion of the Holy Virgin S. *Lucy* of whom ſhe learnt it.

What effects her perſwaſions and good counſels in that kind, wrought in others, I cannot ſo particularly now tell, tho' I know that ſome of good quality were thereby

thereby induced to the doing of diverſe good deeds, and one among others to give two hunder'd pound to a Religious Order which was then in ſome want. But certain I am that ſome of her ſervants learn'd and practiſ'd that prudence very perfectly, tho' I will now mention only one that by him a conjecture may be made of the reſt. This man being neither of great means nor quality (the *Counteſs's* coachman) was ſo addicted to almſgiving by the counſel and example of his good Lady, who he ſerv'd many years, that beſides ordinary alms which he gave frequently; once ſpeaking of ſome want he hear'd one of the *Engliſh* houſes beyond ſea was in, he brought immediatly without being aſk'd five pound to ſend thither towards their aſſiſtance. Another time he came to me (never having mention'd any thing of neceſſity to him) with twenty Jacobuſes of two and twenty ſhillings the piece, deſiring me to beſtow them where I thought there was moſt need, and afterwards he gave a hundred pound to the Society, and moſt of the reſt of his

1595-1630.

1595–1630. his ſubſtance (tho' he gave well alſo to his kindred) he left to pious uſes after his death, wch happen'd to be upon the vigil of S. *Lucy* Patroneſs, within the compaſs of her feaſt whoſe worthy example he had follow'd by the good advice of his Noble and Pious Lady.

Her Piety did ſtill more appear in the manner of making her laſt will and teſtament, in which tho' ſhe uſed the hand of another in ſeting down ſuch legacys as ſhe bequeath'd to her children, kindred, friends, and ſervants: yet in ſuch things as were for her Soul's good, and pious uſes, ſhe writ them all with her own hand, and with ſuch pious words as well teſtify'd that wch was in her heart from whence they did proceed, giving expreſs charge to thoſe ſhe put in truſt, that thoſe things ſhould without fail and the leaſt delay be firſt of all perform'd. The like Piety ſhe ſhew'd alſo in certain remembrances left at her death for ſome ſpecial friends, which were Croſſes of gold enamell'd with azure, on the one ſide of which was the Holy Name of *Jeſus* in the midſt, and on

on the other, the name of his Bleſſed Mother *Maria*, and in the corners thereof theſe words, *Miſeremini mei An. Ar.* on the one part: and *Parce mihi Domine* on the other: both of them taken out of the leſſons of holy *Job* read in the office of the Dead. by the former, entreating her friends to be mindfull of her Soul in their prayers. by the later, both aſking pardon herſelf of *God* for her ſins and offences, and putting them in mind to do the like for their own alſo. And ſhe procured that every one of theſe Croſſes ſhould be made graines of S. *Ignatius* and the other four Saints canonized with him; to the end that thoſe her friends by doing ſuch pious works as are appointed unto the enjoyers of those graines, might gain Indulgences both for her ſoul and themſelves. 1595-1630.

CHAP. XXI.

CHAPTER XXI.

Her Charity.

1595-1630. Saint *Peter* Prince of the Apoſtles in his firſt Epiſtles adviſes Chriſtians before all things to have and ſhew mutual charity one to another amongſt themſelves. *Ante omnia autem mutuam in vobiſmetipſes charitatem continuem habentes.* Saint Paul alſo exhorts to the ſame: *Super omnia autem hæc charitatem habete:* but above all theſe things have charity. And the things he there mention'd were, Mercy, Benignity, Humility, Patience, Modeſty, and the like, adding withall immediatly that it is the Bond of Perfection *Vinculum Perfectionis* wch binds and unites together

ther the Vertues there nam'd, and ſo perfects them and all others, that without it they cannot ſtand, much leſs bring any man to perfection. Tho' therefore I have already related many things concerning the charity of the *Counteſſe* towards many ſorts of people: yet now for concluſion I will add in this laſt Chapter ſome other things of the ſame which will better manifeſt to what perfection ſhe came, both in that and other Vertues. 1595-1630.

And firſt, to begin with the extenſion of her Charity: it was no wayes contracted, or limited either to thoſe only of her own kindred, allies, neighbors, acquaintance, country or religion; but ſtretch'd and dilated it ſelf to all ſorts of people whom ſhe could conveniently help or ſuccour any way; relieving not only *Engliſh*, *Scotch*, *Iriſh*, and others of bordering nations, who ſometimes had recourſe unto her in their neceſſities, but others alſo of far remote countries. An *Indian* maid being taken priſoner at ſea, and ſold for a ſlave to Doctor *Lopez* a Phyſitian then dwelling in *London*, and

1595–1630. afterwards there put to death for ſomething intended, as was ſaid, againſt the perſon of Queen *Elizabeth*, being in danger, or at leaſt in fear of receiving much damage to her ſoul by living in her maſter's houſe where ſhe ſaw the *Jewiſh* ceremonies practiſ'd, and was ſolicited, as it ſeems, to embrace them and leave the Chriſtian Religion, ſhe found opportunity by means of ſome Catholicks natives of *Portugal* to manifeſt her misfortune and miſery to the *Counteſſe*, who moved with compaſſion, procured her deliverance from her maſter, receiv'd and harbor'd her in her own houſe for the ſpace of almoſt a year, until ſafe means were found to convey her to *Bruſſells* in *Flanders*, where ſhe pretended to have ſome friends and acquaintance of good worth. And all this was done upon the *Counteſſe's* charges and meerly out of charity for the delivery of that helpleſs ſoul out of the ſpiritual danger ſhe ſeem'd to be in.

And not only to Catholicks as this woman was, but to any of what Religion ſoever, ſhe was ready to do all the good ſhe

ſhe could, when occaſion did require: yea even to Heretical Miniſters, whom of all ſorts of people ſhe ſeem'd leaſt to love, as eſteeming them the Devil's chief inſtruments in the ſeduction of ſouls. For beſides ſeveral courteſies which upon occaſion ſhe did to diverſe of the better ſort of them; never any of them came in neceſſity to her whom ſhe did not relieve. But becauſe neither they, nor any other ſhould think it was out of any reſpect to their profeſſion, ſhe commonly would uſe theſe or the like words: It is not becauſe you are a Miniſter that I give you this, but for *God's* ſake becauſe you are a poor man, and in neceſſity. And to one of them beſides the dayly relief which ſhe gave to him and his poor children all the time ſhe remain'd in that place where he liv'd, for more than a year ſhe beſtow'd one ſhilling every week upon him, with this condition that he ſhould abſtain from going to the Alehouſe and there offending *God* in diſorder and drunkeneſs: the which condition tho' he did not well obſerve, yet ſhe

1595-1630.

1595-1630. ſhe never fail'd to perform what ſhe had promiſed out of a charitable deſire to draw him by degrees from that baſe unworthy vice.

Another thing worthy to be noted was, the willingneſs, and promptitude with which ſhe perform'd her charitable deeds. For, importunity, nor much entreaty were ſo little needfull to excite her to them, that ſhe many times did them before they were demanded. And I have often known her leave her own meat, to go out of her own houſe to ſick perſons who deſir'd comfort from her. And how eaſy ſhe was to be drawn to any good deed will appear by the following example.

During the time of her Lords Impriſonment, and after his Condemnation when ſhe only had that ſmal allowance from the *Queen* mention'd before, ſhe hired a little houſe at *Acton Middleſex*, ſix miles diſtant from *London*, and her charitable diſpoſition being known to the people of the country thereabouts, a certain woman who dwellt at *Hammerſmith* three

three miles diſtant from her houſe, comeing to her upon ſome occaſion, told her of a poor woman who being in labour had great need of help, and intreated her to take the pains to go ſee and comfort her: ſhe had at that time no coach of her own, yet her charity was ſuch, that at the entreaty of that mean woman ſhe went along with her all the three miles on foot; and tho' ſhe found the poor creature ſhe went to viſit in a place nothing fit for her to have enter'd (for it was in the common open cage of *Hammerſmith* that then ſtood in the midſt of the ſtreet which is the high road way to *London*) yet ſhe refuſ'd not to go in, and ſtay all the time which was neceſſary for the relief of that poor woman's miſery, altho' before her departure ſhe did not fail to rebuke the indiſcretion of the other for bringing her to ſuch a publick and infamous place. 1595-1630.

But that which, in my judgment did render her charitable deeds more commendable at leaſt in the ſight of *God*, was the deſire ſhe had to do them in the beſt

1595-1630. beſt and moſt perfect manner that ſhe could, to wit: in ſuch times, and occaſions, as all circumſtances conſider'd, they might redound to the greater glory of *God*, and the good of ſouls; actually referring them to His honour, and chiefly for His love, and with all the ſecrecy that poſſibly ſhe could. For, tho' it could not be avoided but that many of them were known to many, yet her deſire was to conceal them as much as might be, and in effect ſhe ſo order'd the matter that the far greater part of the alms ſhe beſtow'd, was during her life known to very few, and many times not even to thoſe on whome ſhe beſtow'd them: for ſhe doing them purely for the love of *God*, did not deſire that either they, or any one els ſhould take notice of them: neither did ſhe herſelf care to keep any memory of them, as I perceiv'd in ſome occaſions. For, in diſcourſe aſking her, how much money ſhe had given towards a certain work in which ſhe had diſburſ'd great ſummes, her anſwer was, that verily ſhe did not know,

know, nor ever did nor would keep reckoning of ſuch things as were ſpent in the ſervice of *God*, being aſſured that He would not forget to reward them, tho' ſhe had no care to remember them. And beſides ſhe was ſo diligent in actually referring her charitable deeds unto the love of *God*, that if upon the ſuddain ſhe had done any out of meer compaſſion, and not referr'd it according to her cuſtome, in reflecting upon it afterward, ſhe would eſteem it as a fault, and as ſuch accuſe her ſelf thereof. 1595-1630.

The ſecondary end of her charities, was the good of ſouls. And therefore it was, that ſhe was ſo liberal towards the Society: becauſe ſhe conceiv'd that they did ſeriouſly apply themſelves to that end according to their Inſtitute. That was the motive of her relieving many of her poor neighbors in the time eſpecially of their ſickneſs, and of her viſiting others in the like occaſion.

For ſhe would then ſpeak to that purpoſe to them if there were any probability of prevailing with them. That likewiſe

1595-1630. likewiſe was the reaſon of taking in ſome poor aged people to her houſe, and there keeping and maintaining them with all things neceſſary till their death, of which, as alſo of the death of others who had been made Catholicks by her means, ſhe took no ſmal joy. For they being then paſt the dangers of this life, ſhe was, as ſhe ſaid out of fear of their not perſevering, in which ſhe ſhould ſtill have remain'd had they liv'd longer and recover'd, as by experience ſhe had ſeen and known ſome do, by reaſon of the troubles and malice of thoſe times. And for the ſame reaſon ſhe ſhew'd no leſs content when any yong children who by her means had been baptiſ'd, dy'd before they came to the uſe of reaſon or capacity to ſin, whether they belong'd any way to her ſelf, or not. When ſhe was put out of her own houſe by Queen *Elizabeth*, having hired another at the *Spittle Without Biſhop-gate*, it ſo happen'd that a poor beggar woman was brought to bed under her garden wall, whom ſhe deſir'd after the relief of her pains

pains to be carefull about the chriſtening of her child, and the poor woman alledging her want of mony in excuſe, ſhe promiſed to defray the charge, when ſhe ſhould have notice that it was done. Whereupon two of that woman's companions, carry'd the child to *Stepney* the Pariſh Church; but falling at variance by the way, that handled it betwixt them in ſuch manner, that it was no ſooner chriſten'd, but giving up the ghoſt it was fit alſo to be buried, which being done accordingly by the Miniſter, the next day he brought a bill to the *Counteſſe* of ten ſhillings at leaſt, for the chriſtening and burying the beggar's child, which tho' it was exorbitant and more than ſhe promiſ'd (for ſhe ſpoke nothing of the burial) yet ſhe was as willing to pay it as y^e^ Miniſter to receive it, greatly rejoiceing that by her means that innocent ſoul was ſafely got to heaven, which otherwiſe in all likelyhood would have been neglected, and ſo periſhed. 1595-1630.

The laſt circumſtance which made her charity

1595–1630. charity moſt perfect and praiſeworthy was her conſtancy and perſeverance therein. For it was not only by fits or ſpurts that ſhe did practiſe it, but continually every day in ſomething or other from the beginning of her being Catholick to her very end. About half a year before ſhe dy'd ſhe took into her houſe a yong Gentlewoman who deſir'd much to be a member of *God's* Church; but could not poſſibly accompliſh it as long as ſhe remain'd among her own kindred and friends who were moſt ſtiff Proteſtants. She was ſo ſolicitous of this poor Gentlewoman to have her placed in ſome ſervice after her own deceaſe, where ſhe might have means to continue in the Catholick Religion and be well inſtructed therein, that not content diverſe times in her ſickneſs to have ſpoken to ſome friends effectually to that purpoſe not half an hour before her death, ſhe commended the ſame to me very earneſtly as alſo the ſending over beyond ſea a poor youth who ſeem'd to have a deſire to be religious, to the end he might there find means

means to execute his good purpoſes. Both which were done according to her charitable deſire. And during the time of her loweſt ebbe and leaſt ability which was when ſhe liv'd upon the *Queen's* allowance (for the ſpace of ſix, or ſeven years) ſuch was her deſire of doing deeds of charity that ſhe made ſhift even then to ſpare one hundred marks or more every year for pious uſes, beſides that, which ſhe gave to ordinary poor people, who reſorted to her houſe, or by accident ſhe met with; and beſides that which ſhe ſpent in medicins, ſalves, playſters and the like which ſhe then alſo gave out of charity. 1595-1630.

Finally ſuch was the abundance of her charity, that not ſatisfy'd with what ſhe did, ſhe wiſh'd and deſir'd much more, and rejoiced as much to hear of any good done by others, which ſhe could not do, as if ſhe had done it her ſelf. And many times I have ſeen her, to my no ſmal admiration, as glad when ſhe hear'd of ſome good ſucceſſe which happen'd to perſons that were meer ſtrangers to her, and

1595-1630. and again as much or more troubled with the news of their temporal loſſes, as if they had been her own. All which being evident arguments of her extraordinary charity, though they were not perhaps obſerv'd by many, yet ſo much was generally known thereof in the country where ſhe liv'd and dyed, that they ſeem'd to have ſmal hope of ſeeing in their dayes her equal in that; or any vertuous actions. Upon which account not only the common people, and thoſe of more moderate diſpoſition; but even Miniſters and others who were more oppoſit and contrary to her in perſwaſion of Religion could not deny but that they thought ſhe was gone to heaven, and had a high ſeat of glory there. And if they had ſuch an opinion of her, with much more reaſon may Catholicks who knew, the integrity of her life here truely ſet down, believe y^e^ ſame. And firmly hope that ſhe now enjoying everlaſting happyneſs, and nothing cool'd in her charity, by her holy prayers and interceſſion may and will obtain for them

of

of *Almighty God* abundant grace to imitate her vertues here, that thereby at length they may come to be partakers of the glory which ſhe poſſeſſes in heaven. 1595-1630.

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